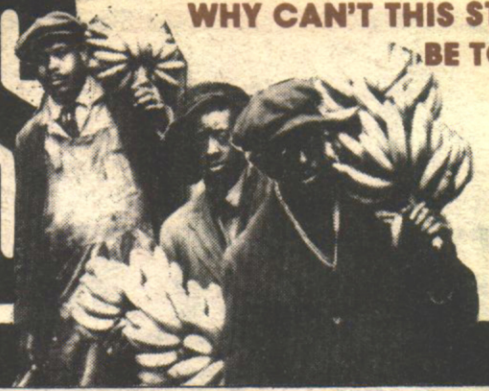


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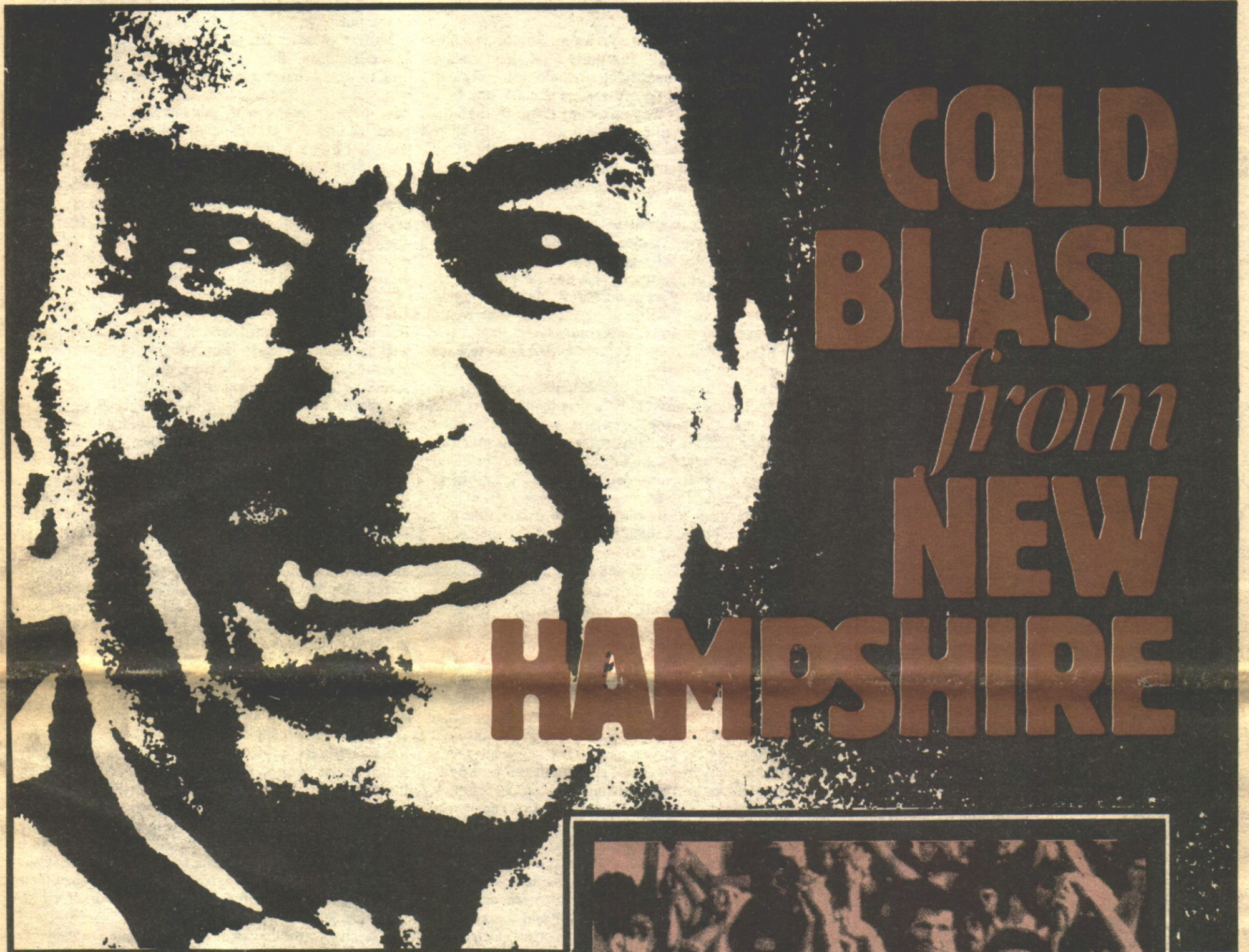
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BE TOLD?
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VOL. 4, NO. 15

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75 CENTS



COLD BLAST *from* NEW HAMPSHIRE

Exporting Stability

*The U.S. tries to buy
“peace” in El Salvador
as unrest spreads.
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THE INSIDE STORY



Byrne battles union to preserve clout

By David Moberg

"Frank Muscare, you did it all by yourself, with your big mouth." With that and other denunciations, Chicago circuit court Judge John Hechinger sent "Moon" Muscare, president of Firefighters union Local No. 2 in Chicago, to five months in jail for criminal contempt of court and blamed him for scuttling a tentative agreement that would have brought strikers back to work a week after their Valentine's Day walk-out.

Even his friends and family agree that "Moon" has a big mouth. But most of the strikers—as many as 4,000 out of the 4,350 firefighters—also see him as a tough, valiant spokesman for their cause. They want their first contract with the city, the last major city in the U.S. to be unionized and governed by collective bargaining agreements.

The real problem is not Moon's mouth. Rather, it is Mayor Jane Byrne's betrayal. She won her election with promises of contracts and collective bargaining for city employees, especially the firefighters. But later, she decided that she really prefers the old patronage system. Unions and contracts reduce the power that the city administration can wield with employees. That power has been used in the past to turn city workers into the mainstay of a political machine. Despite her early reformer claims, Byrne has already demonstrated her intention of continuing the tradition.

Blocking contracts, breaking unions.

"I think she's trying to break the [firefighters] union and trying to avoid collective bargaining with other city employees," Alderman Martin Oberman, the leading liberal, independent in the city council says of Byrne. Oberman recently finished drafting a collective bargaining ordinance for the city. Although Byrne had asked him to do it, he says that she has been uncooperative. On three occasions, she promised to issue temporary regulations on soliciting union members, as Oberman suggested, but never did. "It gave you an idea that she didn't want collective bargaining," he said. And now Oberman believes that she is trying to inflame the situation and is resisting a negotiated settlement with the firefighters.

That is a pattern already set by the city's labor law firm, Seyfarth, Shaw, Fairweather and Geraldson, according to the AFL-CIO. Its *Report on Union Busters* last year said that the firm provokes strikes as instruments of management against the union with the in-

tention "not the settling of collective bargaining issues but rather the destruction or serious weakening of the union as an institution."

Seyfarth, Shaw emphasize keeping the loyalty of supervisors to management and using them as the core of a back-to-work movement. That means maximizing the number of people defined as supervisors, an issue at the heart of the current dispute.

"If the supervisory personnel, which rank Muscare holds, think they're going to be part of the union that negotiates and then give the orders to the people...there won't be any contract for anybody anywhere in the city of Chicago," Byrne said last August. The firefighters are equally determined to make all uniformed firefighters, including the one-third with ranks from lieutenant to battalion chief, part of their bargaining unit.

All for one union.

There are at least three basic reasons why firefighters insist on the full bargaining unit. First, lieutenants, captains and even chiefs fight fires alongside regular firemen. "Everybody does the same thing," one firefighter explained. "If we're crawling down the hall together under a cloud of smoke and this guy's the chief and I'm a fireman, we're still trying to get to the same room." The camaraderie that firefighting develops and requires would be hurt by a divided unit, they maintain.

(It is also such camaraderie that has given the strike much of its strength. That sentiment has been balanced against the equally strong feeling of all firefighters, striking or not, that they have a special public trust that they can't lightly set aside. Firefighters had balked at striking before, but this time they felt that Byrne had betrayed her promise of a contract too flagrantly. (They have agreed to a perpetual no-strike clause once this contract is settled.)

With such a large group of firefighters in the officer ranks, including many of the union leaders, it is also obvious that the union's strength would be sapped without the officers. Finally, these officers as much as the regular firefighters are rankled at the way political favoritism—or disfavor—determine their promotions and their assignments.

"It all gets down to politics," one striker told me. "She's [Byrne] afraid she'll lose a lot of doorbell ringers. You're not forced to do it, but if you want to get ahead you have to. One phone call to the chief and he can transfer you. Now you've got to crawl. You can't even voice your opinion."

Clinging to control.

The issue of control has been central in the conduct of the strike. Seyfarth, Shaw wants to turn the public against the union by confusing them over the union's rejection of an inadequate contract and superficial bargaining. (Many Chicagoans, for example, thought this strike was over money, which isn't even an issue.) "The main story that has not gotten out is that the city wants to maximize destruction," union attorney J. Dale Berry said. "They want people to die. That's why we offered a realistic firefighting plan."

The union's plan for continuing to fight fires while still on strike was flatly rejected by the city and given very little publicity, but the media have jumped at every opportunity—even using grossly distorted cases—to depict the strike as leading to death and destruction. Luckily, there have been few serious fires. Originally the union considered what it calls a "silver spanner" strike that "takes control of the service away from [the department]," Berry explained. "That's what they want—control." Chicago Federation of Labor president William Lee said the CFL would only support a full strike, not a "silver spanner," but eventually a

"realistic strike plan" that would provide firefighters who cross the picket line with union approval was offered.

Lee and the rest of the established labor leaders in the city have been thrown into a tough position by the strike. A variety of craft unions, the Laborers, the Teamsters and other unions represent some 12,000 workers out of 42,000 on the city payroll. Over the years they had worked out comfortable "handshake" agreements with the city. For example, former Mayor Richard Daley paid the craft workers the prevailing hourly wage among their seasonally employed colleagues in private industry. But there was no contract defining rights, no grievance procedure and no threat to the patronage system. The union leaders had no demands or costs for servicing such an agreement, and instead of battling with the city they became partners in the machine.

Most of these leaders are happy to continue the handshake tradition, although a few reportedly are beginning to worry that it might not be so secure any longer with the city facing a greater financial squeeze. Many have been unhappy with the Firefighters, who have been leading the group pressing for a contract. Although the CFL voted to respect the firefighters' picket lines at the firehouses and not do struck work, they rejected appeals to respect pickets thrown up elsewhere in the city. Also, since many of the leaders and perhaps even more of their members in the city have first allegiance to the machine, some members of the Laborers union have continued to "pull hose" at fires in place of strikers, the Firefighters charge.

Confusion and conflict.

But the most powerful leaders in the Federation, as well as Teamster leader Louis Peick, did press Byrne several days into the strike to return to the negotiating table she had abandoned after getting an injunction backed by \$40,000-a-day fines. On Feb. 20 an agreement was worked out for strikers to return to work for 24 hours while negotiations took place. But confusion broke out. The fire department did not meet with the union to give instructions on how firemen were to return to work the next day, and many returning strikers were locked out of their firehouses by the city. Some union members continued informational picketing in the morning, since it hadn't been explicitly forbidden, although they dropped most of it when the judge objected. But the city refused to negotiate, then asked the judge to void the agreement. That's when Muscare was sent to jail. Clearly the city had fouled up, as even the judge acknowledged. But Muscare's mouth took the blame.

The next day another memorandum of agreement was signed by the mayor and five Firefighter officials, brought together under the watchful eye of the 84-year-old Lee and his special committee, but without the Firefighters' attorney or international staff representative. As soon as they emerged and consulted with their executive board and advisers, the officials realized that crucial elements were unclear in the agreement and they refused to return to work until those were clarified. At a weekend rally, firefighters were clearly upset with Lee, feeling that he had sandbagged them into a back-to-work agreement that weakened their position while deepening Byrne's indebtedness to labor's old guard.

The city continued to take a hard line, refusing to negotiate until the strikers returned, even when requested by a federal mediator sent in to help clear the air. The union by this time offered Byrne a new version of the agreement to return. It provided for "interest arbitration" of key outstanding issues, including the

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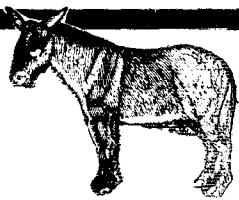
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IN THESE TIMES

PRIMARY TRUTHS

By John Judis • Photographs by Lionel Delevingne



DEMOCRATS

MANCHESTER, N.H.

THERE WERE TWO DIFFERENT morals to be drawn from the Feb. 26 New Hampshire Democratic primary. Supporters of Jimmy Carter could point to the president's victory over Senator Edward Kennedy in a New England state as a sure sign of Carter's eventual renomination next August. But supporters of Kennedy and Governor Jerry Brown could point to their candidates' ability to marshal 48 percent of the vote (Kennedy 38 percent, Brown 10 percent) against Carter's 49 percent in a conservative, semi-industrial state still in the grips of Iranian-Afghan fever.

This indicates that if either or both candidates can sustain their campaigns until the appearance of overseas crisis passes, they may be able to mount a serious challenge to Carter in later primaries in the industrial North and West.

It also indicates, along with the results of the Feb. 10 Maine primary, considerable support for political positions that begin to challenge the prerogatives of corporate capitalism. In New Hampshire, both Kennedy and Brown articulated clear alternatives to the left of both Carter and the Republicans.

Opposition to nuclear power.

In Iowa, Kennedy's campaign was largely based on the claim that he was a superior leader to Carter. After his two-to-one defeat there, he changed his strategy. In a Jan. 28 speech at Georgetown University, he unveiled what were to be key points in his New Hampshire campaign: opposition to Carter's call for a draft and his abandonment of SALT II; support for a wage-price freeze, to be followed by controls; and gasoline rationing.

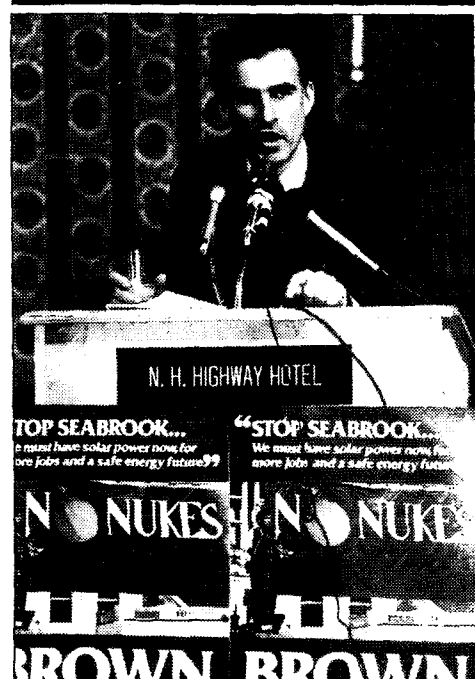
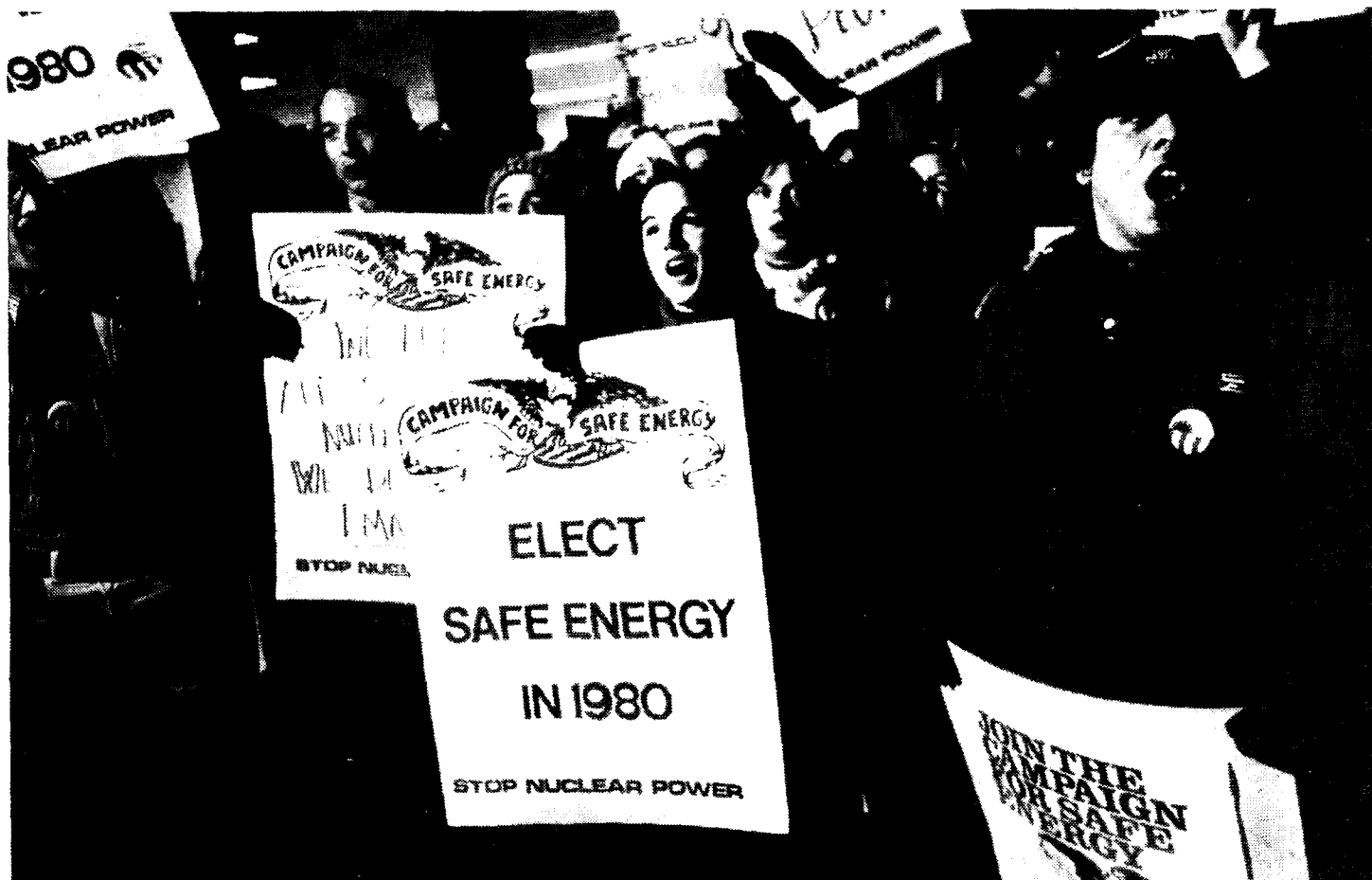
In New Hampshire, at the prodding of the Brown campaign, which cut into Kennedy's support in Maine, and the Campaign for Safe Energy, a pressure group organized by Seabrook veterans, Kennedy added another ingredient: outright opposition to nuclear power and to New Hampshire's Seabrook power plant.

In a major speech in Concord Feb. 20, Kennedy, who had previously advocated a temporary moratorium, declared that it was "time to stop the rush toward nuclear power and to reverse our reliance on it. It is time to end the licensing of new reactors and conduct a case-by-case review of current plans to ensure their safety. Above all, it is time for the federal government to develop a comprehensive plan to phase out nuclear power as alternative sources of energy are phased in."

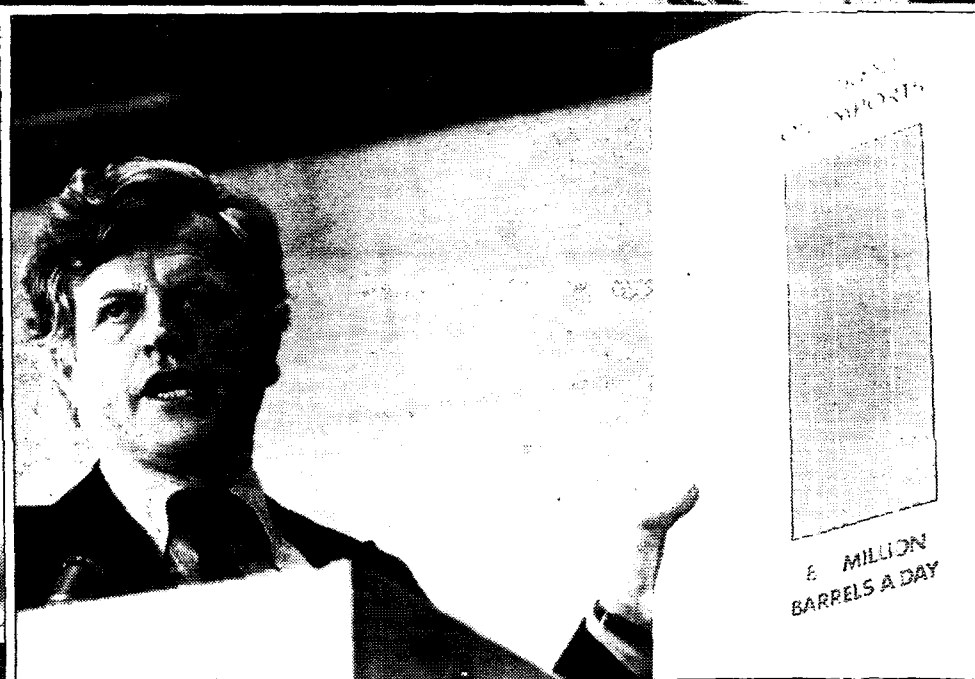
In a Newport, N.H., speech, Kennedy put the case even more starkly. "In my energy policy," he said, "there is no room for a nuclear future."

In New Hampshire, Kennedy was at his best among sympathetic audiences. His evocation of the virtues of national health insurance brought a meeting of senior citizens in Clairmont to their feet. And his ringing opposition to the draft and nuclear power brought cheers from college student audiences. But among mixed audiences—sometimes initially more concerned about gun control than price control—the tenuous to be erratic.

Before an audience of 1,700 at a Clairmont high school, Kennedy lectured about energy policy as if he were talking to a college seminar. Pressed about the



Brown, the original no-nuke candidate, lost some votes when Kennedy, responding to pressure from local activists, came out strongly against nuclear development.



bureaucratic dangers of national health insurance, he assured his audience that it was "going to be run by the private sector." Challenged about budget deficits, he even promised to balance the budget by 1982.

But by the campaign's end, with inflation running at near 20 percent and his call for a price freeze being echoed by Wall Street, Kennedy began to draw cheers when he called for a price freeze and gasoline rationing. His attacks on the Carter economic policies became at once more strident and less defensive.

The business at home.

Brown's campaign tended to complement Kennedy's. While Kennedy attempted to preserve the commitments of liberalism to the poor and to labor, Brown sallied forth against the irrationality of corporate—and liberal—capitalism. He also challenged much more directly and comprehensively than either Kennedy or John Anderson the assumptions of Carter's foreign policy.

The centerpiece of Brown's campaign was his opposition to Seabrook and to the licensing of any future nuclear plants, including the 92 now under construction, his rejection of Carter's focus on military rivalry with the Soviet Union and increased defense spending, and his support for a balanced budget.

Initially, however, there seemed to be two Brown campaigns: one, centering on the balanced budget, aimed at Demo-

cratic conservatives, and the other, centering on Seabrook and the defense budget, aimed at students and liberal environmentalists. In the last weeks of the New Hampshire campaign, there were still signs of this bifurcation.

Speaking at a Rochester, N.H., restaurant, Brown suggested that in order to balance the budget there would have to be "across the board spending cuts." Speaking later before students at the University of New Hampshire, Brown barely mentioned the balanced budget, and the only cuts he suggested were in the defense budget.

But increasingly Brown's ideas were subsumed under a larger political framework. Both nuclear power and deficit spending were signs of "robbing the future for the sake of the present." The MX missile and Carter's focus on East-West rivalries were indications that the Carter administration was "not taking care of the real business at home." An insensitive medical establishment, decaying cities and factories, and the creation of false needs through advertising were symptoms of "putting profits first before people."

At a campaign rally in Nashua, Brown related the plight of New Hampshire's dying mill towns to the arrogance of American multinational corporations. "I was at a factory in Keene," he told the largely young audience of supporters, "and the American machines were rickety and old-fashioned, noisy, smelly,

and dirty. And the machines that were made in Germany and France were much better. Now why is that?"

"I think it is because we have not made a commitment to reinvest in our own country. We have multinational corporations that take the capital that is built up in New England and the rest of America and they take it to the rest of the world. They combine it with cheap labor and make new stuff and send it back here and put Americans out of work."

"And I think it is time to stop that. It is time to rebuild our country and give our workers the best tools so they can make things as good as they want."

Earlier, Brown repeated the same scenario to a more conservative audience, and got the balanced budget into it. When the multinationals invest in Taiwan and South Korea, Brown explained, the U.S. extends its economic and military aid to those countries. That, combined with the unemployment created by imports, contributed to unbalancing the budget.

Unlike Kennedy, Brown was at his best with adversary audiences. He brought a convention of largely pro-Kennedy social workers to their feet with his analysis of the "medical-industrial complex" and his attacks on defense spending.

At a final campaign rally, he artfully parried the thrusts of a heckler, who questioned how if he was "against de-

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Dems

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fense spending," he could expect to "counter Soviet aggression in Afghanistan."

Brown took the audience through the different options the U.S. had available to get the Soviet Union out of Afghanistan, showing in each case that they were either not feasible (invasion, nuclear war) or irrelevant to the actual occupation (Olympic boycott, import embargoes). "The American people are being treated like children," Brown said. "They're being fooled into thinking that something substantive is really going on. It's mostly gestures for manipulating public opinion."

"I think the only basis for repelling Soviet aggression in Afghanistan is if these people have the will to hold out. They can do to the Russians exactly what happened to us in Vietnam."

"We can't see ourselves as the policemen for every piece of real estate. We help people, but the idea that the president of the United States is going to govern and rule every piece of turf on the planet is a myth. We have a hard enough time dealing with race relations in Boston or taking care of the South Bronx."

But Brown's campaign failed to take hold except among students and middle-class environmentalists. He failed to defeat Carter anywhere in New Hampshire, and his only credible showing was in small college towns like Hillsborough. Kennedy even took much of the anti-nuclear vote from Brown in the towns surrounding Seabrook and at the University of New Hampshire.

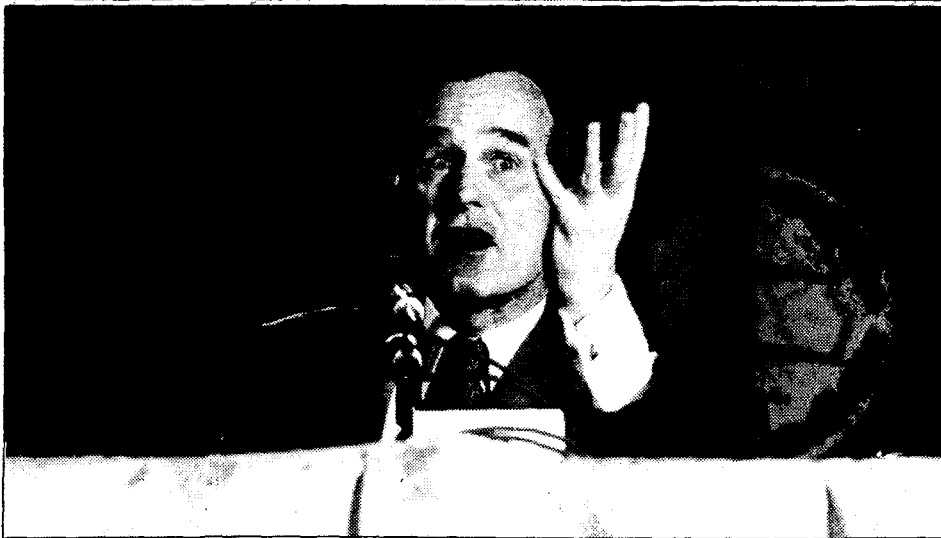
If Kennedy wins, you lose.

Prior to the Iowa caucuses, Kennedy was expected to win New Hampshire. A September *Boston Globe* poll had put him ahead of Carter by 68-to-20 percent, largely based on the perception of him as a superior leader. Kennedy could seemingly count on New Hampshire's large Catholic Democrat vote and on the vote of the some 80,000 recent emigrants from Massachusetts.

But the Iranian-Afghani crisis, by enhancing Carter's image as a leader, destroyed the real basis of Kennedy's support, and he was left to face an electorate most of whom either didn't like him (echoes of Chappaquiddick) or didn't like his liberalism.

New Hampshire is not typical of the Northeast. For the last ten years, it has been the fastest growing state in New England. High technology firms have been attracted to its southern tier by the absence of any corporate taxes, and middle-class commuters from Massachusetts have been similarly drawn by the lack of a sales or income tax. Its southern population is closer to the Sunbelt than the Frostbelt in its estimation of what is needed in America.

At one large rally, Kennedy asked his audience to indicate by raising their hands which two issues were most important to them among inflation, foreign policy, energy, the environment and



While Reagan cultivated a conservative populism, his TV ads painted Bush as a "Rockefeller liberal."

jobs. Inflation and foreign policy were the overwhelming winners, and jobs came in a lowly last, with only a scattering of hands.

Southern New Hampshire Democrats are often Democrats by tradition rather than conviction. Interviews with Manchester Catholics who supported Carter revealed an equal preference for Carter or Reagan. Rochester salesman Kevin Flynn, a Massachusetts emigre, admitted that he could vote as well for Phillip Crane as for Carter.

One thing Flynn knew, however: he would not vote for Kennedy. "We don't need more socialism," he said. "We need a more laissez faire attitude from the candidates."

Carter exploited this constituency. Most of his commercials deemphasized any programmatic commitments. The exception was an attack on Kennedy for not supporting increases in defense spending. In their appearances, "Chip" and Rosalyn Carter stressed the president's superior leadership qualities.

But Kennedy also faced a special obstacle in New Hampshire: the gun lobby. The 2000-member New Hampshire Gun Owners of America, a branch of the "new right" GOA, plastered New Hampshire with bumper stickers reading "If Kennedy wins, you lose," in spite of Carter's similar stand on gun control.

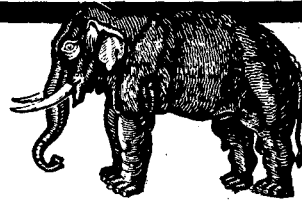
The gun lobby's attacks had a profound effect on Kennedy's working-class base. Accompanying Kennedy to textile mills in western New Hampshire, one found that the workers were most concerned to hear about his stand on gun

control. New Hampshire Machinists official Ernie Record and Steelworker official Ed Roukema, key Kennedy supporters, confirmed this impression. "As much as we talk about the virtues of Kennedy, gun control is the overriding issue," Roukema said.

Midwest confrontation.

Brown's 10 percent in New Hampshire, which again denies him any delegates, exhausted his already diminished treasury and caused him to postpone any future confrontation with Carter until the April 1 Wisconsin primary. In Wisconsin, Brown may be able to draw on the same combination of students and liberal environmentalists that brought him his surprise showing in Maine.

The next serious Carter-Kennedy confrontation will be Illinois March 18. If Kennedy is defeated in Illinois as soundly as he was defeated in Iowa, it may be all over.



REPUBLICANS

RONALD REAGAN'S COME-from-behind victory in the New Hampshire Republican primary Feb. 26 puts him back in the lead in the race for the Republican nomination. It also throws doubt upon George Bush's ability to marshal a moderate-conservative coalition against him.

In the weeks following Bush's victory in Iowa, his lead over Reagan in New Hampshire seemed insuperable. It was

based partly on Bush's ability to appeal to both conservative and moderate Republicans and on his experience in foreign affairs and as CIA director, which counterbalanced Reagan's credentials as a two-term California governor. But in conservative New Hampshire, whose residents still seem to support the Articles of Confederation, Bush's main asset was a negative one: Reagan's age, 69.

Many New Hampshire supporters of Reagan were doubtful, especially after Iowa, of Reagan's ability to function in the presidency. Campaign manager John Sears' shielding of Reagan from the press and the populace nourished rumors of senility even among Reagan diehards.

But the Reagan campaign, aided by Bush's gaffe at the Feb. 23 Nashua debate, overcame these initial impressions. Reagan's final margin over Bush was a whopping 50-to-23 percent.

Reagan's vigorous personal campaigning convinced his supporters that his age was not a factor. "Two months ago, none of us were going to vote for Reagan," one Nashua supporter explained. "We just thought he was too old for the job. But now we've seen a lot of him in the flesh, and can see he's not senile."

Meanwhile, Bush's refusal to allow his fellow Republicans to join the Nashua debate conveyed an impression of narrowness and truculence to many New Hampshire Republicans. Reagan's experience began to loom large. "I think Bush presents a good case," Windham resident Wayne Ulaky explained after the debate, "but I don't think he'll hold up. Ronald Reagan has been there. He's got executive experience."

Reagan's victory, especially in Manchester—New Hampshire's largest city—was also aided by a political strategy that attempted to portray Bush as a Rockefeller liberal linked to Watergate. William Loeb's *Manchester Union-Leader* published a string of articles on "Bushgate"—Bush's acceptance in 1970 of \$106,000 from a Nixon political slush fund. The *Union-Leader* also hammered away at Bush's "liberal" connections. "Bush is obviously the candidate of David Rockefeller and the Trilateral Commission," one editorial explained.

Reagan himself didn't attack Bush in his speeches, but he drew a clear political line between himself and Bush by calling for a blockade of Cuba, an across-the-board 30 percent tax cut, and the return of welfare to the states.

In New Hampshire, these views struck a chord among middle-class Republicans committed to a rightwing populism. But it is not clear whether they will resonate among Midwest and industrial state Republicans.

Even within Reagan's landslide victory, there were signs of trouble to come. While he carried Manchester with the aid of the *Union-Leader*, he and Phillip Crane, the other rightwing candidate, lost the other major cities to the coalition of Bush, Howard Baker, and John Anderson. In Concord, Reagan-Crane got 40 percent of the vote, in Nashua 32 percent, and in Portsmouth only 31 percent.

These results suggest that a Reagan victory in Detroit this summer will depend on the ability of the Republican moderates to unite behind a single candidate, presumably either Bush or Baker.

Even if they are unable to unite, they still might be able to deprive Reagan of a first-ballot victory. In that case, Gerald Ford and not Ronald Reagan may turn out to have been the real winner in New Hampshire.

—very few, according to the union, hundreds by the city's count—it appeared that she hoped to weaken the union as much as possible before signing any contract.

The repercussions of all this aren't entirely clear. Certainly there will be bitterness in the firehouses afterwards. The Chicago labor movement is also even more split between the left and progressive leaders, who strongly backed the firefighters, and the old guard, who are upset with this new regime of contracts, strikes and formal bargaining. And with Byrne determined to keep the patronage system, the growing efforts of AFSCME (state, county and municipal employees) to organize the bulk of city workers may prove quite difficult.

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Strike

Continued from page 2.

bargaining unit size. Other big issues were raising the number of firefighters on the trucks (which the city has agreed to do in stages), job assignment by seniority and overtime premiums.

It appeared that the city and firefighters could have reached agreement on many of these issues quickly, but Byrne, who hired 667 new recruits after the strike started, maintained that the city had enough firefighters on the job and didn't need to talk. With more strikers returning after nearly two weeks

SUPREME COURT

Court reinstates abortion funding

By Joanna Foley

NEW YORK

AS A RESULT OF SUPREME Court action last week, all women Medicaid recipients are entitled to free abortions for the first time since 1977. But the pro-choice victory could be short-lived. The case on which it is based will be heard by the Supreme Court in April.

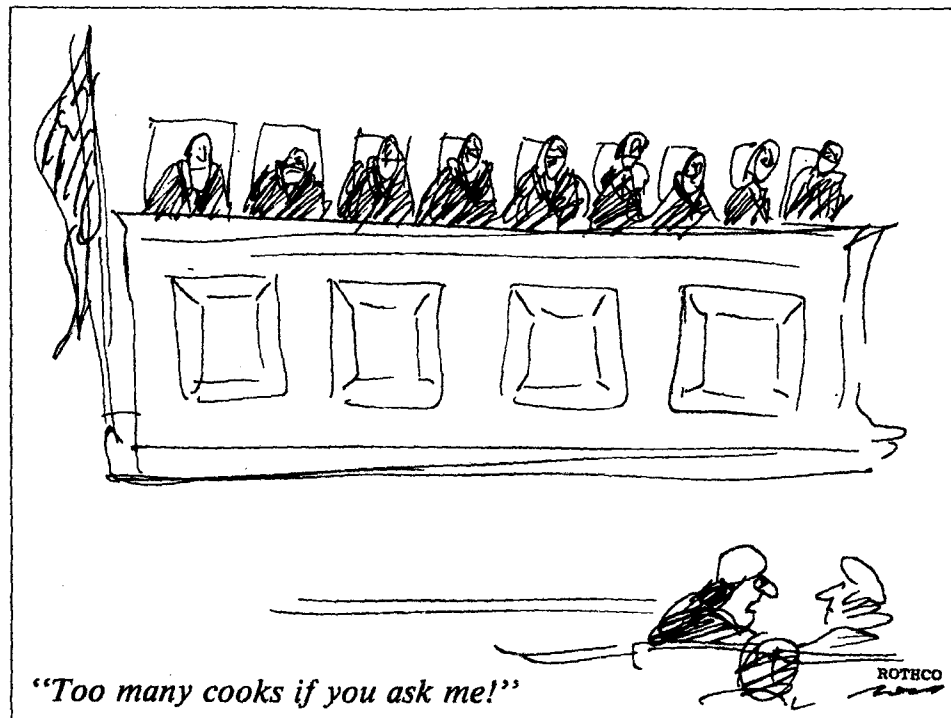
"This is a great day for poor women all over the country," said Rhonda Coplon, one of the attorneys litigating the challenge to the Hyde Amendment.

In 27 states indigent women will again have access to abortion services. In 23 others, women had never been denied abortions because state and local governments took over payments.

"But even in these states, the court decision will end the incredible confusion of the last few years," said Beth Bothnak of the Center for Constitutional Rights. "Many women didn't get abortions because they didn't realize that the state would pick up the tab."

In January, *Harris vs. McRae*, the case from which last week's decision arose, was decided by a Brooklyn federal judge. He ruled that the Hyde Amendment is an unconstitutional violation of the equal protection clause. In a sweeping decision, Judge John Dooling also found that it violated the First Amendment by interfering with the free exercise of religion. Federal funding of abortions was ordered resumed.

The Justice Department moved to bar the decision from taking immediate ef-



fect. It argued that the case would soon be heard on appeal and the Hyde Amendment would be found constitutional. But last week the Supreme Court voted by an impressive six-to-three margin to deny the government's request for a stay.

The major legal battle over abortion rights will reach the high court in April. *McRae*, a nationwide class-action suit, was launched by pro-choice activists when the first Hyde Amendment passed Congress in 1976. Attorneys from the Center for Constitutional Rights, the American Civil Liberties Union, and Planned Parenthood worked to produce a model case. Its 6,000 pages of testimony cover every possible issue, includ-

ing religious and ethical aspects of abortion.

Also argued next month will be another Hyde Amendment case. *Williams vs. Zbaraz*, an Illinois case, deals with the question of whether a state statute can limit abortion funding more strictly than the federal legislation.

Decisions on both cases are expected in June. Encouraged by the recent six-to-three vote, some pro-choice advocates cautiously predict victory. "It is very unusual—and a very good sign—that the court allowed federal funding to resume," said NARAL spokesperson Janet Beals. "It's much more common for a court to maintain the status quo."

On the other hand, Sylvia Lowe, an attorney for *McRae*, doesn't "read too much into the six-to-three vote." But Lowe, an NYU legal professor, told *IN THESE TIMES*, "it does indicate that the Court takes this issue seriously."

Even the most optimistic pro-choice activists realize that the upcoming court rulings probably won't produce the final legal word on abortion.

Back in Congress ominous successors to the Hyde Amendment have already emerged. Pro-choice advocates are again fighting on the political front to prevent anti-abortion provisions from being written into the Medicaid statute known as the Child Health Assurance Program.

"The new amendments to the CHAP bill are the worst anti-abortion measures ever drafted," said Beals of NARAL. "They make permanent changes in the law—at least the Hyde Amendment had to be renewed every year."

The Volkmer Amendment would exclude abortions from Medicaid; they would even bar Medicaid services for post-abortion complications. The Bauman Amendment would prevent courts from ordering states to pay for medically necessary abortions (as they have done in 13 states, thereby preserving access to abortion for about 50 percent of Medicaid recipients in recent years).

Both amendments have already passed the House by comfortable margins. Now they are being kept off the Senate floor while back-stage lobbying takes place. NARAL and other pro-choice groups are working vigorously to defeat the legislation. If it passes, it will present an obvious target for further legal battles.

CONSUMERS

New coalitions formed to fight utility shutoffs

By John Cameron and George Wood

BY THE LAST WEEK OF OCTOBER the weather had already turned cold in central Illinois. A small frame house in Champaign burned to the ground early one evening. Inside an elderly man was killed by smoke inhalation. A next door neighbor, also elderly, died from a heart attack during an attempt to rescue the man inside.

Fire department investigators traced the fire's origin to a small gas space heater that had been overturned. The heater was being used because utility service to the house had been cut off earlier in the week when the tenant was unable to pay his bill in full. And this was not an isolated incident—a similar fatal fire occurred in a nearby community the following week.

These deaths, of course, will not be recorded as "directly attributable" to winter utility shutoffs. Nor will the local power company, like Ford Motor Co., face prosecution for "negligent homicide." But these deaths would not have happened if the utility company had not been allowed to shut off the power in the name of their "financial best interest."

As the costs of gas, electricity and home heating oil continue to spiral upward, low and moderate income families have faced a bleak winter. But this latest attack on consumers has not gone unchallenged. Across the country new coalitions of community groups, labor unions, and consumer organizations have pulled together to ease—if not stop—the worst effects of higher utility rates. And over the past four years, coalition

efforts to end winter shutoffs have scored a number of successes.

•In November the Illinois Commerce Commission (ICC) passed an "emergency order" that prohibits disconnection for lack of payment. Action by the state regulatory body came only after a three-year campaign by the Illinois Public Action Council that intensified this year when unions, particularly the Machinists, joined the effort.

•The Montana Public Service Commission this winter instituted an emergency ban on shutoffs following an unsuccessful campaign by two low-income groups—to establish lifeline rates through a PSC ruling.

•The Missouri Public Service Commission has adopted much stricter rules on cold weather shutoffs, though a 25 percent deposit on unpaid bills is still required. Thirty-nine organizations, including many unions, pushed for the new rules.

•The Wisconsin Public Service Commission, which for the past five winters has passed temporary bans on shutoffs, this year adopted a procedure that requires the PCS to review termination policies each fall. That ruling culminates several years of organizing since the early-'70s death of a senior citizen whose service had been cut off. During the campaign, tenant, consumer, and labor groups solicited supportive statements from the health commissioner, collected over 10,000 petition signatures, and paid consumers' gas bills in groceries to dramatize the choice between heating and eating.

•In Maryland, where the Public Service Commission has for several years declared a moratorium on shutoffs, the local utility this winter agreed to a volun-

tary limit on cold-weather terminations.

In many cases, state and local campaigns against shutoffs have been conducted in cooperation with the national Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition (C/LEC)—chaired by Machinists president William Winpisinger—which last year decided to make cold-weather shutoffs a major organizing issue.

Because utilities are regulated at the state level, the C/LEC strategy has been to catalyze local coalitions and provide

them with technical support. According to Bob Hudek, midwest organizer for C/LEC, the result so far has been changes in the utility termination rules of ten states.

Targets and tactics have varied to suit the political terrain. In Illinois, for example, the Central Illinois Consumer Energy Council—a downstate affiliate of Public Action—first called a public meeting with local utility officials at

Continued on page 6.

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STQ1

EDUCATION

The university is not a factory

By David Sprintzen

WITH ITS DECISION IN the Yeshiva University case (*National Labor Relations Board vs. Yeshiva University*), the Supreme Court has transformed the entire context of the unionization of faculty in higher education. Justice Lewis F. Powell, writing for the majority of the court in its five-to-four decision, claimed that faculty are "managerial" employees and thus excluded from coverage under the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA). As Justice Powell so clearly stated, that act "was intended to accommodate the type of management-employee relations that prevail in the pyramidal hierarchy of private industry."

At "mature" institutions, such as the justices believe Yeshiva to be, the situation is said to be quite different. Faculty members are seen by the Court as managerial because (in the words of the majority opinion) "their authority in academic matters is absolute." They "make recommendations to the dean or director in every case of faculty hiring, tenure, sabbaticals, termination, and promotion." And they "effectively determine [the schools'] curriculum, grading system, admissions and matriculation standards, academic calendars and course schedules."

In sum, the majority claimed that the faculty play a crucial role in decision making and are "substantially and pervasively operating the enterprise."

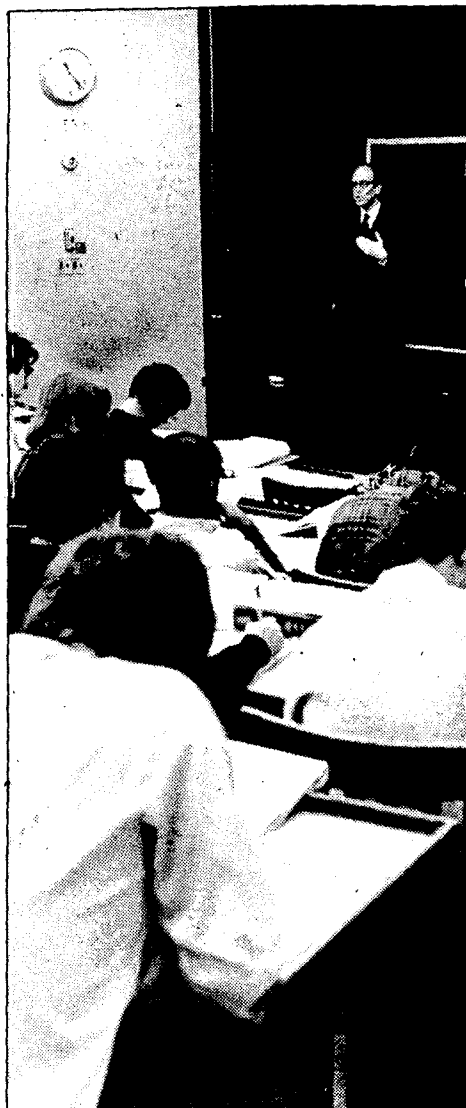
Whatever one may think of the accu-

Supreme Court ruling may deny protection of labor laws to faculty unions.

acy of Justice Powell's perception of the structure of power at most "mature" institutions one must not be led astray by the "conventional" and inevitably quite conservative interpretations of the significance of this decision that are sure to dominate the press.

For one thing, the decision applies directly only to Yeshiva. Second, it applies only to unionization of higher education covered by the NLRA—that is, essentially to the private sector.

But far more significantly, the decision does *not* make faculty unionization illegal. It simply says that faculty in "mature" institutions are not covered by the NLRA. The danger this ruling poses to teachers lies in its hint that if faculty are willing to give up their "management" prerogatives—that is their participation in decision making—then they may become eligible for coverage. "It may be," wrote Justice Powell, "that a rational line could be drawn between tenured and untenured faculty depending on how a faculty is structured and operated."



any say over policy decisions of the enterprise. They could unionize under the act only by agreeing to reduce themselves to being "employees" who could negotiate solely on "wages, hours, and terms and conditions of employment."

David Newton, vice-chancellor of Long Island University, is quoted in the *New York Times* as drawing the same conclusion, but from the management side. "We can recognize the union as a business agency but refuse to negotiate managerial matters like the election of department chairmen." But this position is not new. Newton himself made the same demands and threats when the C.W. Post faculty union negotiated with him three years ago.

The challenge that now faces faculty unionization is clear. Do faculties want traditional unionization at the price of giving up their "special" prerogatives? Or will they organize and bargain collectively without the aid of the NLRA?

In fact the protection of the NLRA is more imaginary than real, as the workers at J.P. Stevens have discovered.

Regularized procedures for the certification of unions and for the processes of collective bargaining are, all things being equal, better for unions than their absence. But the trade union movement has paid a price for that legitimization.

If the Supreme Court decision forces the trade union movement in higher education to come directly to grips with these issues, it may facilitate the development of a political union movement, one that will no longer be embarrassed by its desire for an active role in directing the enterprise of their employers.

Justice Powell writes that "the faculty's professional interests as applied to governance at a university like Yeshiva cannot be separated from those of the institution." And "the 'business' of the university is education, and its vitality ultimately must depend on academic policies [that] largely are formulated and generally are implemented by faculty government decisions." This can be so only if the faculty are organized so as to have the power to make it so.

David Sprintzen has been an active member of the faculty union at C.W. Post.

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Shutoffs

Continued from page 5.

which it requested a voluntary ban on shutoffs. When the utility refused, council efforts shifted to the state legislature, but a bill that would have prohibited winter terminations stalled in the House. The next target was the ICC, whose chair received thousands of pieces of no-shutoff mail over the past summer. It was the combination of statewide consumer action and pressure from the legislature that eventually forced the ICC to act.

Similar results were achieved by another statewide coalition, the Pennsylvania Alliance for Jobs and Energy. While it failed to implement a complete ban on shutoffs, the Pennsylvania Public Utility Commission recently passed a complex set of regulations on termination that make shutoff unlikely.

Though most campaigns have focused on the state regulatory commission, other approaches have worked as well. Oregon Fair Share, working with several community action agencies, has introduced a bill in the legislature, banking on the relatively liberal character of Oregon state representatives. The Michigan Coalition on Utilities and Energy has concentrated on the city council of De-

troit, where nearly all its members live. An ordinance now before the council banning winter shut-offs has been co-sponsored by every member of the council following an extensive door-knocking campaign.

Several factors put limits on success of C/LEC-type campaigns that target state or local governments. The first is that, unlike gas and electric service, heating oil is not regulated, but instead subject to the arbitrary pricing, supply and distribution policies of private companies. At the same time, state public utility commissions rarely have jurisdiction over publicly owned utilities and rural cooperatives.

A more fundamental problem is that most recent government regulations on shutoffs have been enacted as temporary or emergency measures, not as permanent rules—and even permanent procedures may be overturned in the future. In Wisconsin, for example, where the PSC has been traditionally quite responsive, the current Republican governor may soon replace two progressive members of the three-person commission. According to Dan Kaemmer, who organizes for C/LEC in that area, "There will be a constant need to hold them accountable."

John Cameron and George Wood are both active in the Central Illinois Consumer Energy Council.



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FRANCE

Breton village resists nuclear plant

By Diana Johnstone

FRANCE'S NUCLEAR POWER program has hit its first reef on the rocky coast of Brittany. The obstacle is the population of the village of Plogoff, which doesn't want a nuclear power plant, and is fighting it off with words and gestures, slingshots and a flock of sheep.

Of the 23 sites all over France chosen by the government power monopoly *Electricite de France* (EDF) for nuclear construction, three are being disputed through lawsuits almost certain to favor EDF. Plogoff is the first time a whole community has mobilized to invent its own forms of resisting nuclear power and the way of life that goes with it.

Plogoff is a special place, cherished by some 2,600 residents, many of them seafaring men who have come back home for their retirement. It is perched on the Pointe du Raz ("Current Point"), a rugged promontory with a breathtaking view, washed by some of the world's strongest tides and swirling currents. EDF decided this would be a fine place to build a four-reactor nuclear power plant "with its feet in the water."

From the moment they got wind of EDF's plans five years ago, Plogoff people ("Plogoffois") got together to fight back, independent of national anti-nuclear movements. The municipality officially said "no" in March 1975 and began organizing a series of anti-nuclear activities. Last August, 10,000 people gathered on the point for inauguration of a shepherd's lodge built right on the spot where EDF plans to put its power plant.

The fishing villages of the cape have long turned away from their rock-strewn landscape towards the sea to make their living. But in past centuries, sheep used to graze on the barren hills. Plogoff de-



Plogoff residents in Mardi Gras masks harassed the troops sent in by the French government to protect its pollsters.

cided to revive this traditional economic activity on the 90 hectares (225 acres) earmarked for the nuclear power plant, the better to obstruct EDF's expropriation of the land. A bearded 33-year-old shepherd has been imported from the Provence Alps to look after Plogoff's new flock of 15 sheep.

The survey.

But as often happens, it took confrontation with police to bring Plogoff into the

news. The occasion was a standard government "public interest survey" of local opinion regarding the plant prior to its construction. Officials were sent to collect written opinions from the 6,000 residents of the four closest villages: Plogoff, Cleden, Phmelin and Goulien. To show clearly that all they had to say about the project was "no," the local people decided to boycott the survey. Plogoff's socialist mayor Jean-Marie Kerloc'h refused to let the government

use his town hall for the survey.

So instead, the government last Jan. 31 sent five vans labelled "town hall branch office" and escorted by over 500 armed police to spend six weeks trying to carry out the unwanted survey in the streets of the four villages. The hostile population turned out en masse with Breton flags and anti-nuclear banners to block the roads and tell the "foreign invaders" to go home.

Since then, Plogoff has been seething under the "occupation army" sent from Paris.

All day long, local men and women try to approach the impassive troops to harangue them about the dangers of nuclear power or about their own unlovable role. Now and then the police charge, firing tear gas grenades into the unfriendly crowds. In the afternoon local kids hurl pebbles at police vehicles heading back to barracks after a day's fruitless "survey," and at night the local men build roadblocks or dig ditches to block them the next day. Some night police patrols have been pelted with stones.

On Feb. 8, a fisherman was arrested and sentenced to 45 days in jail for possessing a slingshot. So far, Plogoff "guerrillas" have been no more heavily armed than that, but local people keep warning that massive police patrols are a provocation that could have tragic consequences.

The government's plan.

Work on the power plant is supposed to begin in 1983 and employ 2,000 workers for five years. As of 1988, it should start producing 15 billion kilowatt hours per year, the whole of Brittany's projected electricity consumption. Plogoff is not impressed. Jean Moalic, of the local ecological movement *Evit Bez On C'hap* (meaning "For Life on the Cape" in Breton), argues that the projected consumption figures have been deliberately inflated by EDF to justify its nuclear policy. In fact, he says, Brittany's consumption was only six and a half billion kwh in 1978 and has actually declined in the past two years—despite EDF promotion of wasteful electric heat—because rising prices have moved people to economize.

"Yes, we speak Breton, but we also speak very good French," says Moalic's mother. "The people in Paris try to por-

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MIDDLE EAST

New currency takes Israel by surprise

By David Mandel

TEL AVIV, ISRAEL

ISRAEL'S ECONOMIC CHIEFS shocked the public on Feb. 22 with a surprise change in currency: one shekel—a coin mentioned in the Bible—will replace 10 old lirot. Planning of the step took two years, they said, and new cash was printed, minted and delivered from Holland in secret.

Announcing the plan, finance minister Yigael Hurvitz stressed nationalist justifications—exhorting the public to cherish and defend its new Hebrew money—more than any economic ones. And commentators were quick to point out that the change in name and decimal point, itself requiring a major expense in transforming accounting systems, will not automatically alleviate any of Israel's economic crises—balance-of-payments deficit, spreading recession, unemployment and runaway inflation, to mention the main points.

Nor was the reason for secrecy clear, in other countries, introduction of a new currency has been used to crack down on illicit and unreported income by registering all old money when it is called in. But not here. In Israel, triple-digit inflation and liberalized foreign currency rules mean that no one in their right mind has held much in Israeli bills lately, or even in bank accounts. Savings, licit or not, are more likely to be in European or American money, gold, diamonds, art, carpets or real estate.

But two other measures announced together with the currency change are ostensibly aimed at combating the widespread tax evasion in Israel, especially by the self-employed. Together with the treasury's failure to update income brackets as fast as inflation, figures show that widespread tax evasion has shifted the tax burden during the last year from the self-employed to wage earners.

One of the new rules requires all persons with annual income—declared income, that is—of over \$16,500 to make a yearly declaration of all their capital holdings. The other requires that all financial transactions of over \$375 for individuals and \$6250 for corporations be reported to the government.

The impact of these restrictions will be seen only in the future, but the immediate reaction was skepticism. The rules will be difficult to enforce, and it was revealed that stricter measures proposed by finance minister Hurvitz—inspection of safe deposit boxes, for instance—were overruled by premier Menachem Begin and others. Holders of "black capital"—the local term for unreported money—are likely to keep it hidden. In forms and places beyond the reach of the tax authorities.

Hurvitz called the currency change a psychological step, aimed at building confidence. "Hold on to your shekels," he urged. "Israel's coin is going to stabilize." But he denied that the move was timed to deflect attention from almost certain new price increases in March, from the rash of angry demonstrations against unemployment, or from the

spate of strikes and slowdowns plaguing the state services lately.

Nurses and doctors held brief walkouts in mid-February against staff cutbacks that have increased their workload, while medical and nursing school graduates can't find jobs. Teachers have been striking against the government's refusal to implement a commission recommendation to increase their pay, which has eroded more than the average. And in an especially dramatic action, electric company employees wreaked havoc throughout the country in late February by causing staggered blackouts over wage disputes and a management plan to eliminate their traditional right to free electricity.

The government has won court injunctions against all these groups of employees, and has worked hard to cultivate public opinion especially against the highly paid electric workers. A "compromise" proposed by the Histadrut labor organization was accepted by the workers and officially okayed by management, but vetoed by the state. Both workers and the company were suffering losses from the slowdown, but the latter's profits are guaranteed by law, meaning higher rates soon.

None of these labor disputes has been resolved, and many others are on the horizon, with hundreds of big contracts expiring this spring. Knowing this, union militants and Israeli socialists suspect the government's economic policy makers of springing the currency change on the public as a distraction from more basic problems.

YUGOSLAVIA

Tito leaves a strong legacy



By Bogdan Denitch

TITO IS DYING. HE IS LEAVING the scene of Yugoslav politics that he has shaped and dominated since the Partisan armies fought their way into power. After a bitter three-year civil war and a war against the Axis occupiers, Tito had the distinction of being the only Communist leader in Europe whose party came to power without the direct aid of the Soviet armies.

From the very beginning, this unique distinction was fraught with peril and tensions. The Yugoslav Communists, in power mostly through their own efforts, regarded themselves as the best, most loyal, and most trustworthy allies of the Soviet Union, but considered themselves, from the very beginning, as legitimate though younger partners in a world movement then centered on Moscow.

The misunderstanding began almost immediately. The Yugoslavs regarded Soviet advisers precisely as that—advisers, hardly what their bigger brothers had in mind. As early as 1945, they were embroiled with Stalin personally over the behavior of the Soviet troops that had helped liberate Belgrade.

During the first years after the war the Yugoslavs were, if anything, the harder, the more extreme, the more orthodox of the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe. They were pugnaciously intent on confronting the Western allies in Trieste and aiding their Greek comrades in Macedonia. The Soviets repeatedly found themselves trying to restrain the excessive enthusiasm of the Yugoslavs.

The central point about the Yugoslav regime was that it was the result of an authentic revolution and civil war. The conditions under which they won the struggle had eliminated most of the other internal contenders for power, and had given the new communist government in Belgrade a degree of legitimacy and popular support unique in Eastern Europe. The break with the Soviets in 1948 was, as a consequence, all the more traumatic. A substantial number of party cadre was badly shaken and remained either ambiguous or pro-Soviet in the years that followed.

The Soviets and their allies engaged in a massive campaign of economic pressure and political intimidation that drove the Yugoslavs to flesh out an alternate model that would be as sharply differentiated from the Soviet one as possible consonant with the maintenance of a communist regime. In that search, a number of major breakthroughs were made and now, after 30 years of independent development, some assessments of the Yugoslav contributions to the historical experiences of the world socialist movement are possible.

The most important theoretical contribution made by the Yugoslavs is relevant not only to communist and socialist movements but—with increased urgency—also to the advanced industrial states of Western Europe. With a backward economy and an absence of trained cadres, Yugoslavia attempted a daring return to the original roots of the movement. It took years to evolve, but now



Josip Broz Tito in 1970 (left); as a commander of partisan forces in 1942 (above).

no substantive discussion of the problem of workers' self-management or workers' control or direct participation by workers in shaping the policies of their enterprises and the economy is possible without examining the Yugoslav experience. The question of whether a decentralized economic model, based on worker-controlled enterprises, can work has been answered. In this respect, one must remember that the Yugoslav system of self-management involved a systematic dismantling of the over-centralized, bureaucratic state developed in the Soviet Union and imposed on Eastern Europe.

Because of where it came from, the Yugoslav model of self-management tended, if anything, to overemphasize decentralization and a break from rigid central planning. The Yugoslavs developed a model not generally understood by Western Marxists. It is a model whose outlines were sketched out by Oscar Lange, a Polish Marxist-economist, emphasizing the role of the market as an allocator of consumer goods and as a yardstick for keeping track of the actual cost of production, without which most so-called planning is merely an ideological exercise. The effect in Yugoslavia has been not only to create a pattern of sustained growth for almost two decades, unmatched in quality in Eastern Europe, but also to permit the development of an aggressively self-assertive working class that is permitted to strike, remove its factory directors, set the general wage patterns within the enterprises, and has increasingly taken a major responsibility in controlling investments and long-range strategies in industry.

There are costs, to be sure, but those costs have to be compared with the costs of authoritarian, centralized economies, and must be viewed in relation to the fact that Yugoslavia was not only one of the most backward countries of Europe

when the partisans took power but also one that had suffered losses and damage paralleled only by the Soviets and the Poles.

Socialist pluralism.

The second major contribution of the Yugoslavs, still in the process of evolving, centers on the role of socialist pluralism and the nature of the party. It was more than a symbolic gesture when the Yugoslav Communist party changed its name to the League of Communists. That change represented the beginning of a systematic withdrawal of the party from various social, economic and political arenas, and the development of a system in which the party is only the leading force among forces that compete within the system. In plain language, the Yugoslavs do not regard the existence of policy differences as products of false consciousness, which has to be surmounted by monolithic party intervention, but as a normal feature of a socialist society and, therefore, as a feature that should be reflected in the governing institutions.

The fact that Tito, an old functionary of the Communist International, a hard of hards, a living link with the movement when it was both Stalinist and controlled by Moscow, has presided for decades over the evolution is only one of the measures of the broadness and flexibility of his leadership. He has, in fact, created a system that makes it all but impossible for another Tito to emerge. The new system stresses collective leadership both in the party and the government, a collective leadership that reflects the genuine power bases in the society and the economy, not one imposed from above.

Decentralization of the economy has been extended to the trade unions, professional bodies and chambers of commerce, and, for the past decade, has profoundly altered the relationships between

the federal center and the six republics and two autonomous provinces. In any case, Yugoslavia in no way resembles the centralized states of Eastern Europe or the centralized polities of Western Europe. The present leaders of Yugoslavia do not derive their powers from the center but, on the contrary, exercise power in the center on the basis of their constituency support in the republics or in the various institutions of the country.

International relations.

The third contribution of the Yugoslavs under Tito's leadership has been the development of the non-aligned movement. Whatever the ambivalences and ambiguities of non-alignment, it is the only alternative to integration within the two power blocs contending for world domination. Non-alignment has asserted the right of small newly liberated countries to become subjects and not objects of international relations and world history.

Tito is personally identified with non-alignment to an extent that will not be true of his successors, and it is likely that the Yugoslavs will have to present a lower profile and pay more attention to their European and Mediterranean neighbors in the immediate future. But, this historic contribution of Tito's has been an undisputed asset to the anti-colonial forces throughout the world. In that sense, the Yugoslavs, while the first of the national communists, have played the rule of socialist internationalists without any of the opprobrium attached to the usage of socialist internationalism by the Soviet Union and its allies.

Another major and unprecedented contribution has been Yugoslavia's resolution of the national question, which produced almost a million dead in fratricidal wars during World War II. The Yugoslav's recognition of multi-ethnicity as a fact of life has gone a long way toward removing it from the political arena.

Yugoslavia, of course, is not a democratic socialist society. But it is a society in which the possibilities for development towards a genuine democracy remain open.

The forces for a genuine socialist democracy are not merely isolated oppositionists, exiled or living in semi-illegality, as in the rest of Eastern Europe, but can be found even within the League of Communists and among its leaders. Despite inconsistencies and hesitations, the Yugoslav party (League) has permitted a greater degree of political debate and participation than any one-party regime in the world.

Some issues are out of bounds: the federal nature of the state, the non-aligned stance of Yugoslavia, the self-managed economy and the leading role of the League of Communists, but an enormous space has been left open for free discussion.

In that sense, the Yugoslavs are more a part of the community of Eurocommunist and left socialist parties than of the East Europe. That development was also presided over by a Tito whose whole training and instincts must have recoiled at the degree of turbulence and intellectual freedom that followed the evolution of the Yugoslav system.

Tito, therefore, is a figure in the world communist movement whose contributions are more relevant to the democratic socialists than those of the other giants. There is little of use to Western Marxists in the thoughts of Mao and less that can be gained from the contributions of Stalin. Those two Communist leaders provide Western socialists only with negative lessons, and not only in the field of democratic revolutionary politics. What is remarkable about Mao and Stalin as compared with Tito is the ambiguity and hostility that their successors have towards their actual practice. Tito, on the other hand, is unique, among other things, in having provided for an orderly, systematic succession, not of worn-out bureaucratic hacks, but of independent-minded leaders of the society he helped shape. As a consequence, history will probably be more kind to him.

Bogdan Denitch directs the Ph.D. program in sociology at the City University of New York.

CENTRAL AMERICA

By Christine Dugas

AFTER THE SHOOTING STOPPED, only ambulance sirens broke the silence in downtown San Salvador. Just minutes earlier the streets had echoed with the chants of 100,000 high-spirited demonstrators.

Now the red, black and yellow banners lay trampled in the empty streets. Parents sought children they had lost in the stampede for safety. Forty-nine persons lay dead and more than 100 wounded in the capital city of Central America's tiny, most densely populated country.

While this is not the first such incident, it marked the beginning of a new phase in the Salvadorean crisis: civil war. The government cannot hope to check the inevitable—so people are now choosing sides.

The ruling junta of three civilians and two colonels has been in power only since the October 1979 overthrow of President Carlos Humberto Romero. It quickly announced a plan for social reforms, including land reform and amnesty for political prisoners and exiles.

Yet during the first 18 days of the new government, political violence reached an unprecedented level. In that time 208 assassinations were reported to the Commission of Human Rights in El Salvador. Most of the victims were members of labor unions or leftist mass organizations. The commission blames the government police and national guard, as well as the rightist paramilitary group, the Union of the White War (UDW).

Representatives of the Committee of Mothers of Political Prisoners and Missing Persons in El Salvador met with the junta in October and demanded the release of 276 missing persons. The junta disavowed any knowledge of clandestine prisons or missing persons and invited the mothers to look through the "official" prisons themselves.

By January, with promised reforms unfulfilled, the civilian members of the junta and 39 government officials—including 12 of 13 cabinet members—resigned. Only the two colonels of the junta and the minister of defense remained. The rest of the ministers refused to continue as instruments of a government they claim only pretends to serve the interests of the people. Ex-minister of education Salvador Samayoa took up arms, saying he was going underground to fight with the Popular Liberation Forces (FPL), a leftist guerrilla group.

The government persuaded members of the moderate Christian Democratic Party to fill government vacancies and support peaceful reform. But by that time the new junta had lost credibility. The Christian Democrats didn't have enough of a following to bolster the failing government as the country split in a battle between the left and the right.

Meanwhile, the leftist organizations have joined forces. On Jan. 11, the four major groups, the Popular Revolutionary Block (PRB), the Popular Leagues of Feb. 28 (LP-28), the United Popular Action Front (FAPU), and the United Democratic Nationalist Party (UDN), signed a declaration of unity.

In the past, these organizations have been known for staging peaceful demonstrations, strikes, and building takeovers; they are not armed guerrilla groups like the FPL. But now the new coalition claims that the only path to social change is through mass insurrection. Its demands include land reform, nationalization of the banks and the commercial export sector, and release of political prisoners.

El Salvador's elite are fighting to retain their hold on the wealth and power. While the military is poised to battle the left's coalition, the clandestine Union of the White War wages a campaign of psychological terror, first threatening victims and later leaving its calling card by the corpses.

The most undecided group in the coun-



Representatives of left parties announce a declaration of unity on January 11.

Civil war looms in El Salvador

Salvadoreans, who regard a left-right conflict as inevitable, are now choosing sides.

This young leftist was killed during a January 4 assault on a national guard post.



Opposition groups declare joint action

By Jose-Manuel Navarro

The United Democratic Nationalist Party is one of several left parties in El Salvador that in January joined a broad coalition to oppose the current government in El Salvador and condemn U.S. action in support of that government. A leader of the UDN—who asked not to be identified by name—was in Chicago last week. He was interviewed by Jose-Manuel Navarro for IN THESE TIMES.

Some in the U.S. claim that the recent violent clashes in El Salvador do not represent a mass movement, but only the agitation of leftist student groups.

The international press has generally portrayed the disturbances in El Salvador as offensive actions taken against the government without rhyme or reason. But in fact, the violence is a defensive response to the junta's attacks—massive attacks that have resulted in the annihilation of the entire population of some valleys in the countryside.

If there is not mass movement, how explain the march of Jan. 22—the likes of which has never been seen in Salvadorean history? The march covered 62 city blocks and was conservatively estimated at 250,000 people. Thousands

more who chose not to march but wanted to make their presence known packed the plaza in San Salvador.

If the people were not behind it, how explain the arrival in the few days before the march of thousands of people from the countryside? The government stopped trains and made arrests at checkpoints outside the city—many people had to finish the journey on foot over back country roads. This is a struggle of a whole people.

The U.S. State Department and the Pentagon are reported to be considering further military and financial aid to the government of El Salvador.

The granting of military assistance will demonstrate that the U.S. government is not interested in assuring peace in El Salvador. Peace can be assured only by removing the junta.

The U.S. aid would only prolong the life of the junta, which is in an agonizing state of health. But \$50 million in foreign aid is like giving someone with tuberculosis an Alka-Seltzer—\$100 million equals two Alka-Seltzers.

The problem is not financial. The only effective medicine for El Salvador now is peace. The oligarchy wants war to maintain its power.

If the U.S. government wanted peace in El Salvador it would embargo arms sales to the junta. They certainly have enough justification; after all Salvadorean rulers already owe the U.S. \$1 billion in arms payments.

Could you tell us something about the National Coordinating Junta (NCJ)—its goals, its programs, and its members?

try is small business. It stands to lose the most in a civil war. In contrast, the wealthy can afford to flee to Miami, and the poor, who have little, are willing to risk it all. The middle class now is less inclined to align with the right as they see that even the military can't stop the civil war. The left coalition is making an effort to include small business.

As Salvadoreans are choosing sides, so also are neighboring countries. On the north, Guatemala, which faces a similar threat of leftist uprising, is keeping a careful eye on El Salvador. The left claims that Guatemala is doing more than that. They say that thousands of mercenaries are being trained in Guatemala to support the Salvadorean right.

On the south of El Salvador is Nicaragua, whose recent revolution is a source of inspiration to the Salvadorean left and of worry to the right. Officially, Nicaragua has said that it does not intend to interfere in the internal affairs of its Central American neighbors, yet the Salvadorean right claims that Nicaraguan arms are already entering the country.

The U.S. is still supporting the new government in El Salvador, despite the increased political violence and the resignation of most cabinet members. According to the Salvadorean left, the U.S. had a strong hand in setting up the new government. Now the U.S. government is planning to reinstate economic and military aid to El Salvador. It maintains the aid will help the Salvadorean government reach a peaceful solution to its current crisis. Few Salvadoreans, however, doubt the inevitability of civil war, and most say it has already begun.

Christine Dugas returned from Central America in February.

On the 11th of January all of the revolutionary, progressive, and democratic organizations of El Salvador formed a united front to coordinate political work against the Salvadorean oligarchy. This is the NCJ. NCJ member organizations represent most sectors of the Salvadorean society—intellectuals, professionals, workers, peasants.

The NCJ will make political and military policy for the opposition. Its dynamic and unifying force was demonstrated by the Jan. 22 march.

On Sunday, Feb. 20, the NEW YORK TIMES reported that there was talk of the U.S. sending experts to organize a "clean counterinsurgency force." What does that mean?

The Times spoke of three groups of 12 men each that would develop such a force. This does not mean that there are now no counterinsurgency forces in El Salvador—they've been around for years. It's from them that all of the paramilitary right-wing operations emanate—they brought kidnapping and massacres into Salvadorean political life.

The problem is that the counterinsurgency forces now in El Salvador are not under the control of the U.S. embassy. They take commands only from the Salvadorean oligarchy whose interests may not be the same as the U.S. "Clean" means free of the influence of El Salvador's ruling elite.

What message are you delivering as you travel around the U.S.?

The American people must be aware that it is not up to the U.S. government to allow or not allow another Nicaragua in Central America. If there is any U.S. intervention in El Salvador, it will be for two purposes: to prevent a progressive victory in El Salvador and to promote a regressive movement in Nicaragua. We ask the American people to support us in our appeal to the U.S. government that it leave us alone to solve our own problems.

Jose-Manuel Navarro is a Ph.D. candidate in political science at the University of Chicago.

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

BEST OF ALL

I HAVE BEEN SUBSCRIBING TO *ITT* ONLY a few months, but I have been really impressed. I like your non-ideological style best, because it not only reflects a willingness to compromise to make progress and a desire to work within the system to change it, but also because it demonstrates that those of us who believe in democratic socialism are not different from everybody else in every other way.

All too often left journals, by their abrasive ideological style tend to divide the universe into "them" and "us." This only insures that the left will always be a strident voice for a very few. In clear contrast, *ITT* leads its readers toward social consensus, paving the way for our views to be amalgamated into the political mainstream.

As your article on shutdowns, by Paul Fortney (*ITT*, Feb. 13) demonstrates, you have a fantastic ability to understand the "free enterprise" system and its economic theory. Rather than making a knee-jerk reaction to the current state of the world, your writers present facts calmly and objectively.

Best of all, you truly believe in American ideals of Freedom and Democracy, and by showing how socialism could be smoothly amalgamated into the social structure, you prove that socialism is truly compatible with American ideals. By supporting proposals that represent improvements in the current situation, you open the door to socialists having a genuine role in the policy process. A good example of this is your positive attitude toward the Ford-Reigel bill.

Frankly, I have never renewed a subscription for three years, no matter what the bargain. But I'm so impressed with *IN THESE TIMES* that I'm breaking this rule for the first time in my life. Now I know why you have risen in three years to be the number one left journal in the United States.

—Dino Joseph Drudi
Washington, D.C.

PRO-SOVIET?

I WAS LEFT WITH SOME TROUBLING questions after your editorial on the invasion of Afghanistan by the USSR (*ITT*, Feb. 13). You approvingly quote George F. Kennan, who points out that Russia was involved in Afghanistan's internal affairs for over a century, and for this and other reasons, its recent actions are in reality what one might call a "defensive invasion."

I wonder whether *ITT* would have tried to defend equally emphatically the intentions of the Tzarist regime, were it still in power, if it would have invaded its turbulent neighbor? And if we are to evaluate the USSR in terms of national interests defined by the Tzars, what is the business of a socialist weekly like *ITT* defending the USSR at all?

—Gershon Shafir
Berkeley, Calif.

Editor's Note: George Kennan was not defending the Soviet Union and neither were we, as the editorial makes clear. We pointed out that the Russians invaded Afghanistan under the same pretext that the Johnson administration used in invading the Dominican Republic in 1965, and with no more justification. But that does not make the invasion "the greatest threat to world peace

since World War II," which is what President Carter has chosen to make of it. The Soviets did not revive the Cold War when U.S. marines landed in Santo Domingo (or even during the Vietnam war). In order to have credibility in denouncing this action by the Soviets, the U.S. would have to renounce any intention of intervening in the internal affairs of other states. Instead, Carter and his associates have used the Russian action as an excuse to get back into the business of intervention by calling for the revitalization of the CIA and for massive increases in military expenditures.

THE BEST OF MARXISM?

YOUR EDITORIAL (*ITT*, FEB. 13) STARTS off by condemning the Soviet Union's invasion as a violation of Afghanistan's sovereignty and independence.

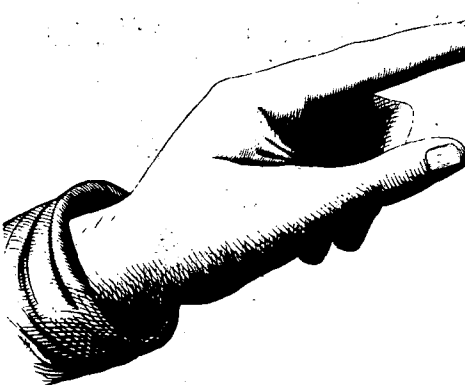
Yet, this same editorial goes on to favorably quote *Le Monde's* editor-in-chief that the Soviet's problem was not to conquer a new country but to hold on to one that had become part of their possessions and to put down an insurrection threatening its Moscow-sponsored government. Giving into popular pressure would have meant in the Kremlin's view, giving in to counter-revolution, and that was unacceptable.

National security considerations aside, the USSR had a principled obligation to assist a developing workers' state to repel a counter-revolution which would have re-empowered class rule.

A much more complicating factor was the assassination of Amin and his replacement with Karmal—the leader of one of the three-party coalition that overthrew the despised Daoud dictatorship in 1978.

Amin, who had assumed leadership by strangling to death Taraki, the first pro-socialist premier, and who implemented social changes with the subtlety of a Pol Pot, was merely fueling the flames of counter-revolution with his brutality and megalomania.

One may argue that if we had our druthers we could have rather put Amin on trial for crimes against humanity, but that said, it was in the best of Marxist tradition—given the lack of a strong "soviet" type popular formation—for



CALENDAR

You and your organization can use the *IN THESE TIMES* calendar to announce upcoming conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. An actual date is required in your announcement. The cost is \$10.00 for two insertions and \$5.00 for each additional insert. Unless it is requested otherwise, the announcement will appear in the two issues immediately prior to the event. Send copy (maximum 40 words) to: Bill Rehm, *IN THESE TIMES*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, IL 60622.

the USSR to support a radical change of socialist leadership.

The crux of the dilemma seems to be around your editorial statement that "The Soviet intervention is too similar to the U.S. invasion of Vietnam." And the reason for this apparent contradiction is your tendency to be *formalist* or *idealist* as opposed to seeking a clear class struggle analysis.

In Vietnam, the U.S. intervened to maintain imperialist domination of an exploited people.

In Afghanistan, the USSR intended to protect a fledgling pro-working state from an anti-working class, pro-exploitation, pro-imperialist feudal ruling class attack.

—A. Robert Kaufman
New Haven, Conn.

ROBERTA

ROBERTA LYNCH HAS WRITTEN ANOTHER extraordinarily cogent piece, "Again the other America—the poor—vanish" (*ITT*, Feb. 13). Congratulations to her for this and for her piece last October on the battle of the sexes. These are the strongest statements on any subject of public concern that I've heard or read for many a month.

—Judith Gregory
Jeffrey, N.H.

NOT A ONE MAN SHOW

SEVERAL RECENT *ITT* STORIES CONCERNING the new Citizens Party have focused on Barry Commoner, referring to him as the party's "spokesperson" and the party's "unofficial presidential candidate." Both labels are incorrect; further, your concentration on Barry Commoner is doing the Citizens Party a disservice.

The Citizens Party has no presidential candidate, official or unofficial. Moreover, it's possible that the mem-

bers of the party will decide not to run a candidate in 1980 when we gather for our national convention in April. Many members feel that it would be premature to make a presidential bid this year and that the party should concentrate its efforts on local and state candidacies as well as sponsoring an "issues campaign." And among those favoring a presidential bid in 1980, there are many who would prefer to support a candidate other than Commoner.

Until the membership ratifies its party platform in April, no one has the authority to spell out programs and policies in the party's name beyond a number of basic founding principles upon which the party is being built. While many party members agree with issues and approaches outlined by Commoner, it is an error to suggest that they are the party's positions.

—Ken Bossong
member, D.C. State Committee
Citizens Party

OOPS!

THE DATE IN YOUR ARTICLE, "WHY Iranian leaders covered up CIA ties," (*ITT*, Feb. 6) was incorrect. Sadegh Ghotbzadeh's election as Iranian Students Association Executive Secretary was 1960 (not 1961, as printed). This was a full year before CIA funds to the ISA were cut.

—John Cavanagh
Princeton, N.J.

GOD WON'T PERMIT IT

I THINK YOU HAVE BEEN DOING VERY conscientious work on *IN THESE TIMES*. But it could be better. Re. the "cold war reheated" article (*ITT*, Feb. 13), it is important to know that there will never be a war between America

Continued on page 12.

CALENDAR

March 6

See and discuss a Chicago-made film about women's health care that was recently censored from being aired by New York's public television station, WNET. "Chicago Maternity Center Story" is being shown on Thursday, 7:00 p.m., at the Lincoln Park branch of the Chicago Public Library, 959 W. Fullerton, Chicago. Admission is free.

March 6-8

"Peace in Search of Makers: Alternatives to the Arms Race," a symposium dealing with topics of the Soviet threat, economic conversion, new weaponry, and the draft, will be held at Bucknell University, in Lewisburg, Pa. William Sloane Coffin will deliver the keynote address. For more information call (717) 524-3480.

March 7

"The Political Economy of Poetry," a talk by Ron Silliman at the San Francisco Socialist School, 29 29th Street (off Mission), 8 p.m., \$2 or donation. Childcare available.

March 12

Making the Future Work: Lessons from Labor's Past with Fred Thompson, former IWW Northwest Labor Organizer, Spokane Teamsters for a Democratic Union, Seafirst Organizers. Concert by "Utah" Phillips. Sessions at "The Lodge," Spokane Falls Community College. Details from Ryegrass (509) 747-1925.

March 16

Meet the Real Norma Rae! 2-5 p.m. Sunday, garden-party in Los Angeles. Wine, food, music. \$15/person. Fundraiser for the J.P. Stevens Boycott. Co-sponsored by Screen Actors Guild and L.A. County Federation of Labor. For tickets, information: (213) 749-6161.

March 20

Michael Klare, director of the Militarism and Disarmament Project at the Institute for Policy Studies, will speak on "The New Cold War: Domestic and Foreign Implications," at Midwest Academy, 600 W. Fullerton, Chicago, Ill., at 7:30 p.m. Enter from Geneva Terrace. Admission: \$2.00. For further details, call (312) 975-3670.

March 22

No Registration, No Draft, No Cold War. National march and rally against the draft in Washington, D.C. For more information on how to help organize in your area, or to send needed contributions, contact: Mobilization Against the Draft (MAD), 853 Broadway, Room #851, New York, NY 10003. (212) 260-3270.

March 24-26

Symposium: We Shall Not Be Moved: the historical roots of agrarian protest; Ames, Iowa. Speakers include Fred Stover, H.L. Mitchell, Al Krebs, Helen and Scott Nearing, Donald Grubbs. Information: Agrarian Protest, 2828 Oakland, Ames, Iowa 50050.

March 28-29

Three Mile Island—One Year Later. Examine the dangers of nuclear power with films, speakers, workshops, music and more. Meet activists and experts. Lincoln Park Presbyterian Church, Chicago, Ill. For more information: (312) 472-2492, 764-5011 or 786-9041. Citizens Against Nuclear Power.

March 30

Harry Boyte speaking on "The Citizen Action Movement in the '80s," will kick off NAM's Second City Socialist School's spring session, featuring courses on political economy; Freud, feminism and socialism; Spanish; and housing organizing. Resurrection Lutheran Church, 3309 Seminary, Chicago, at 7:30. \$2.00 admission. For information call 871-7700.

BOOKS

Lessons from the history of women at work



FIT WORK FOR WOMEN
Sandra Burman, ed.
St. Martin's, \$17.50

WOMEN AT WORK: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Mass. 1826-1860
Thomas Dublin
Columbia University Press, \$17.50

SO SWEET TO LABOR: Rome Women in America 1864-1898
Norton Juster
Viking, \$16.95

WOMEN'S PROPER PLACE: A History of Changing Ideals and Practices, 1870 to the Present
Sheila Rothman
Basic Books, \$12.50

By Louise Tilly

Contemporary women's history is at least partly a consequence of feminist challenges to prevailing ideology and norms. It also benefits from recent quantitative historical analysis and neo-Marxist theory.

Several recent studies in women's history apply lessons from history to the present, while others leave it to the reader to generalize. *Woman's Proper Place* and the essays in *Fit Work for Women* (which primarily concern Britain) fall into the first category. *Women at Work* and *So Sweet to Labor* fall into the second.

The most original and valuable of these books is Thomas Dublin's *Women at Work*. Dublin's questions are clearly posed and his answers are skillfully laid out. His topic is the women who worked in the early textile industry's period of rapid change in Lowell, Mass., from the 1820s to 1860. Industrialization and the establishing of large-scale mills both "undermined the primary economic activities of farmers' daughters—the spinning of yarn and weaving of cloth" and "tempted them to leave their rural homes to work in the growing factory towns."

Dublin provides a rich social description of these women, their origins (they were mostly farmers' daughters) and their lives after they left mill work (most married later than women who were not operatives, and their husbands were less likely to be farmers than those of rural women). There is no evidence that more mill girls stayed single than their contemporaries.

Mill work provided relatively good wages and offered, both through work and through residence in boarding houses, a social and communal experience very different from the physical isolation and dreary individual work of farm wives. (Juster amply documents with popular literature and rural wom-

en's letters the forlorn and exhausting life such women could lead.)

Dublin demonstrates through his discussion of strikes, the Female Labor Reform Association and the Ten Hour Movement, that social links also provided the basis for solidarity in work demands. This labor consciousness was not automatically accompanied, however, by consciousness of sex inequality or protest on feminist issues.

In the late 1830s and later, rapid expansion of textile production and a profit squeeze led to speed-ups and resistance to them, and then the substantial increase in the number and proportion of Irish immigrant workers, including Irish men, who took jobs formerly held only by females. Several members of the same immigrant family often worked in the mills, and these workers lived with families instead of in boarding houses. Women mill workers in the 1840s and after were most often immigrants who worked for their families.

Labor mobilization was transformed in the 1850s. Skilled Yankee workmen, aristocrats of the factories, took the lead in the Ten Hour Movement, conducted in the electoral arena, in the first half of the decade. Irish male workers led the spinners' strike at the close of the decade. Women's militance greatly diminished.

Dublin's account offers a sober counterpoint to Sheila Rothman's optimistic, evolutionary interpretation in *Women's Proper Place*. For her the concept of "proper" place has been eroded—with some setbacks—under the assault of increased access to education, better health, participation in reform movements and in the labor force, and most importantly, rising awareness.

Rothman is most concerned with institutions, such as women's schools and colleges, female clubs and reform groups that worked to improve children's and mothers' health, women's working conditions and a woman's individual control over her person. Her study moves in a plane far removed from most women's everyday lives.

Rothman concludes that the clash of political interests and advocacy by feminists will continue to be lively, often bitter. She is persuaded, however, that "sooner, rather than later, women will enjoy equal pay and equal opportunity...the gap between rhetoric and reality is

bound to be closed, for the next generation of women, if not for this one."

If we confront Rothman's prediction with Dublin's account of a dramatic reversal of tendencies, three things are clear. First, quite apart from women's consciousness, labor supply and market conditions are important determinants of women's participation in the labor force. Second, family factors often affect women's work life. Third, the organization and social setting of work also determine women's activism.

Although married women's labor force participation has increased over time, most of the growth has been in occupations already designated "female." The degree of sex segregation among occupations has not decreased markedly with time. Women still earn distinctly lower salaries than men and they work discontinuously and part-time more than men. Recent studies by professor Mary Corcoran and associates at the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan address the question of income differentials between men and women.

Discrimination, they find, is only part of the picture. Women are more likely as

sive private child care. Some working women can hope to share child care between parents. For many women, however, their husband's contribution to domestic labor and child care is insignificant.

Middle class feminist demands that assign great value to freedom of choice and that seem to threaten the family may appear meaningless at best and dangerous at worst to women with few choices. Many women must work, and they are aware of economic injustice. But their ability to act on their grievances is as limited as their choices of jobs. The virtual disappearance of women's labor militancy of Lowell, once family residence and motives for work replaced the young women workers' boarding-house based sisterly solidarity, is a case in point.

Kate Purcell's essay "Militancy and Acquiescence among Women Workers" in *Fit Work for Women*, generalizes the point. She notes that circumstances that apparently have little to do with sex and gender offer "plausible explanations of both women's militancy and women's acquiescence in industrial relationships." Part-time and discontinuous workers and workers in crowded occupations are unlikely to be militants. For mothers and homemakers who work, anti-strike activism may be rational behavior.

The shift that Dublin documents among Lowell women textile workers is replicated in the U.S. today. Single women who work regularly with other women, or who share community of some kind are most likely to organize.

Married women with families are in a double bind. Their work commitment is incomplete because of family obligations. The example and model of women's mobilizations on other issues may activate these women on family issues in the future. The feminist movement is paying increasing attention to exactly such family issues.

Louise Tilly is the author, with Joan Scott, of *Women, Work and Family*, which discusses the position of women of the popular classes in France and England since 1700.



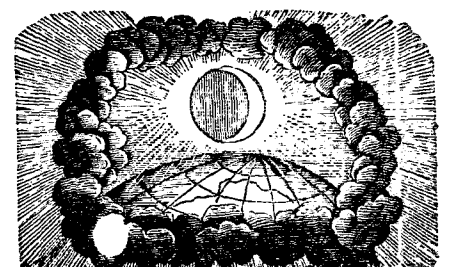
So Sweet to Labor

well to be less qualified, because of their discontinuous and part-time work histories. They also work primarily in fields where other women work, although men dominate the ladders of promotion in these fields.

The nonwork aspects of women's lives are critically important to income differentials as well. Here the stark analysis of Maureen Mackintosh's essay "Domestic Labor and the Household" in *Fit Work for Women* is instructive:

"The set of social relations that constitutes the household, and that creates and maintains women's subordination, is mutually determining—with the set of social relations that governs other social production, in this case the relations of capitalist value production and wage labor."

The lack of enough quality day care programs thus has much more important effects on women's work roles than Rothman would allow. Some middle class women can hire excellent, expen-

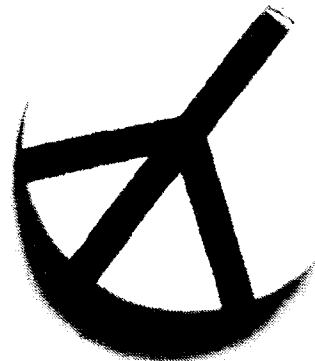


THE SUN BETRAYED BY RAY REECE

A STUDY OF THE CORPORATE SEIZURE OF U.S. SOLAR ENERGY DEVELOPMENT.

Solar energy is the most democratic and humane source of energy. Yet the solar promise is being subverted by an alliance of federal agencies, major corporations and utilities who want to place control of the sun in the hands of corporate officials. Ray Reece details this behind-the-scenes collusion in *The Sun Betrayed*.

The Peace Movement,



Continued. COALITION

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LETTERS

Continued from page 7.

and Russia. God simply won't permit it. But both countries, especially America, have trillions of dollars of military equipment, some of which may be used to murder the citizens of little countries. This has been the pattern.

War between America and Iran is the real possibility, and it would be dreadful. Should America attack Arabia, God might let Russia attack America. Both Arabia and America could be destroyed. Arabia has in the past been very well behaved, and there is a conspiracy to ruin Arabia at any cost. There are enemies of goodness on the Earth.

The U.S. government, if it still exists, is eager to conquer other countries and make them our docile slaves. It has done so in Puerto Rico. This is called "adventurism" and there has been much of it in South America. It has done this without America finding out what happened.

No government that builds atomic bombs should be allowed to exist. Everyone knows how destructive they are, and there is absolutely no defense against them whatsoever. A person who favors the building or use of atomic bombs should have his head examined. One should also know the Law of Returns, which says that what one sends out comes back to him.

The Russian invasion of Afghanistan was a mistake and they should soon withdraw their troops. They were not very hostile to the citizens of Afghanistan. The Russian "line" is that they are there to protect the country from America. Yet people in Washington have made out that it is a provocation of war. They are idiots. Washington doesn't dare declare war with Russia but it wants to declare war with little countries and do a lot of shooting.

-Don Bratton
Oxnard, Calif.

SINGING THROUGH THE PAIN

JAMES LIVINGSTON'S REVIEW OF MY book, *Social and Sexual Revolution* (ITT, Feb. 6), reminds me of an old Russian folk tale. One cold winter evening, a man was walking in the outskirts of Moscow when he found a bird lying in the snow. To warm the bird, which was practically frozen, the man covered it with some dung. It worked, and the bird began to sing. In a nearby wood, a wolf heard the singing, ran and got the bird out of the dung and ate it. There are three lessons to be drawn from this story: not everyone who covers you with dung is your enemy; not everyone who pulls you out of the dung is your friend; and, if you are covered with dung, don't sing. You may be wondering what this story has to do with Livingston's review, just as I wondered what Livingston's review had to do with my book.

In the review, we learn that Livingston thinks that undermining authoritarian character structure during its formative years is equivalent to "introducing kids at the right age" (his words), and that urging youth "to question the existing order along with all its symbols and leaders and to loosen generalized habits of respect and obedience" (my words quoted by Livingston) is the same as calling for "catechisms for children" (his words).

Worse, Livingston's attack on my interest in Marxist theory, which he presents as a defense of the need to study American political reality, simply disguises a know-nothing, behaviorist hostility toward theorizing all too common on the American left that only serves to distort—yes—American political reality. Having set up his straw man, your courageous reviewer proceeds to burn him (not me) alive with all the critical acumen and bad faith usually associated with enterprises of this sort.

What we don't get in the review is the sense that there is an important debate going on on the nature of class consci-

ousness, and that my book is a serious attempt to contribute to it with views and in areas that have hitherto drawn little attention. The views are primarily those of Marx, the dialectician, and Wilhelm Reich, and the areas are teaching, research, sexual politics (as it applies to straights and men as well as to gays and women), and envisioning the communist future.

There is much in my book that honest socialists can disagree with, but readers of the ITT review will never know what they are. Nor will they ever know what the book contains that they may have found of value.

-Bertell Ollman
New York

OH, YES, YOU ARE

I AM SURELY NOT THE FIRST READER to inform you that you have three of the five HUAC members captioned wrong (ITT, Jan. 30).

For the record, left to right, they are Richard Vail (Illinois), Thomas, John McDowell (Pa.), Stripling and Nixon.

Since you got the pic from Kanfer's *A Journal of the Plague Years*, surely your picture editor can read better than this?

-Alvah Bessie
San Rafael, Calif.

AW, C'MON

LAST JAN. 9 I WROTE A LETTER PRO- posing that we examine abortion abuse without prejudice, the same way we examine sterilization abuse. In other words, the poor who are aborted or sterilized because of economic duress or social pressure are victims of injustice; this situation is not only possible, but prevalent; feminists and socialists ought to be getting concerned about it, and we are.

To my surprise, Jean Peterman chose not to refute what I said, but pretended I said something else and refuted that.

In her first paragraph (ITT, Feb. 19) she said what I said is "fine." Thanks.

In her second, third, and fourth paragraphs, she said for me what I didn't say at all, and then refuted that. Is somebody trying to "mislead" ITT readers, as you say, Jean? Did I allude, without words, to unnamed legislation with unspecified provisions (subtle! crafty!) that you felt obliged to refute for good measure?

In her fifth paragraph: "no-choicers" are "fond" of saying abortion is genocide. This is passed over without comment. (To be accurate, I am not a no-chooser. I do not advocate criminalizing all abortions.) Then, again, the introduction of a new issue, as if perhaps this no-choice Loesch woman were on a new campaign already: "birth control" genocide! (Ban the condom! Down with diaphragms!)"

Aw, c'mon. I think we'd all agree that preventing unwanted conception is infinitely preferable to destroying a kid you've already started. What's offensive is that, as Jean Peterman so truly says, poverty is genocide; and there are so many ways we kill.

-Juli Loesch
Erie, Pa.

Ho Ho

TO SAY THAT BILL WALTON AND THE Portland Trailblazers were unique because they played collectively is ridiculous (ITT, Feb. 13). Bill Russell's Boston Celtics were winning Championship by playing collectively before Bill Walton was in high school. And I suppose that Seattle's Supersonics play the game of basketball about as collectively as it can be played. This guy Edelman calls himself a fan! Ha ha.

-Eddie Anton
Minneapolis, Minn.

CORRECTIONS:

The photo of Barbara Underwood accompanying the back page article, "From Marx to Moon," (Vol. 4, No. 12), was by Wendy Zheutlin. The front page photo of the Pinto logo (Vol. 4, No. 13) was by Steve Kagan.

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France

Continued from page 7.

tray us as out of this world, but Plogoff men are mostly seamen. They've been around and seen plenty." The Celts of Brittany are the oldest ethnic group in France, with the most poetic traditions and strongest attachment to their land, customs and communities.

It seems only right that today's Celts should carry on their ancestors' resistance to foreign invaders, especially invaders who would chop off the cliff that inspired centuries of poets, clutter 70 hectares of seascape with unsightly dikes and pumps for the reactors' cooling system and upset the Breton coast's happy ecological balance by churning it up with tons of hot and slightly radioactive water.

Outsiders naturally tend to get carried away with the romantic and archaic aspects of Plogoff's resistance. Plogoff's themselves are quick to stress that they are as fully up to date on nuclear matters as anybody else in France. They can tell you all about Three Mile Island and oth-

er near disasters. "The technology has not yet been perfected, it's not foolproof," they insist.

"My brother is a nuclear engineer, and when he heard Plogoff had been chosen he called me right up to say, 'Whatever you do, don't accept it, it's not safe,'" a Plogoff woman recalls. "Since then we've read up on the subject. We're not refusing just for ourselves, to save our landscape and our communities, we're not selfish, we're against nuclear power for anybody, anywhere."

Prospects for Brittany.

Brittany has long complained of being left out of France's Paris-centered economic development. Now Paris says the nuclear power plant would bring prosperity to the region. Since Brittany's regional council accepted the EDF project, it is not fair for a "noisy minority" to block it, argues industry minister Andre Giraud.

"More jobs? That's a joke," a 50-year-old Plogoff man retorts. "They didn't develop Brittany when they had cheap oil and they're not about to now. Maybe they plan to bring in some immigrant workers to build the plant after they chase us out, but we mean to stay and fight. This is our land."

For many fishermen, the main concern is the unknown effect on marine life. They note that EDF only began to study that problem after the decision to build the reactor was made. The Amoco Cadiz supertanker oil spill two years ago that wiped out oyster beds and other wildlife has made people in Brittany still more sensitive to ecological perils.

Whatever the more or less unspoken sentimental and esthetic motives behind Plogoff's unanimity, the movement officially bases its opposition to the nuclear power plant on three considerations as explained by Jean Moalic.

•The first is safety. The present state of nuclear technology makes it impossible to exclude the risk of a disastrous accident.

•The second is economic. Nuclear power has turned out to cost too much. More satisfactory energy sources must be developed.

•The third is "the way of life, the functioning of society" implied by nuclear power. It implies waste and gigantic dimensions out of all human proportion. Nuclear power goes with a system in which "decisions are taken over the heads of the people whose lives are affected," says Moalic. Those who are most directly affected, or who object, are always a "minority" obstructing the general welfare, which is protected by the police.

Many Plogoffois are pessimistic about their chances of defeating the Goliath of the French centralized state and its aggressive nuclear policy, while others express a measured optimism. Mayor Kerloc'h notes that the population has blocked EDF's geological soundings and points to the "fierce determination" of the Bretons. He is one of the most confident. But optimists and pessimists are equally stubborn in their refusal to give in to government "intimidation."

Moalic recalls that "three and a half out of four of France's major political parties are pro-nuclear." That is, the Giscardians, the Gaullists and Communists all support nuclear energy as the only substitute for dwindling oil supplies, whereas the Socialists try to keep on both sides of the issue. The anti-nuclear movement is obliged to mobilize outside the party system.

Huguette Bouchardeau, national secretary of the tiny Unified Socialist Party (PSU), visited Plogoff recently to cheer the people on—or cheer herself up. She observed that the village defense committee made up of "mothers with their children" gave a different impression of the anti-nuclear struggle than "professional militants" going from one site to another.

"Faced with the country's general apathy and the left's depressed state of mind, we absolutely must support such struggles," she declared.

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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

By Pat Aufderheide

PUBLIC TELEVISION

PBS is the poor sister of TV networks, constantly in search of handouts to supplement its meager federal budget, constantly dunning its viewers for small change in exchange for airtime.

But there are exceptions to the "hegarty can't be choosers" charity policy. PBS has decided that labor unions, at least in one instance, are unacceptable public TV sponsors. The instance is a planned TV series on labor history called *Made in U.S.A.*

For six years independent producer Alex Rassbach has been planning an incredibly ambitious project—a feature TV film on the history of American working people. The series spans the period 1880-1940, and dramatically documents the formation of an industrial, union work force. Themes for several features are the work life of young women textile mill workers in Lowell, Mass., in the 1830s; the Homestead steel strike of 1892; and the migration of blacks into Chicago and their work and organizing in the meatpacking industry.

She has received, over the years, around \$450,000, some \$50,000 of which came from labor unions. The project is now at the point of production, with scripts in hand and a production link with Boston public TV station WGBH.

WGBH producer Peter McGhee and Rassbach applied to the National Endowment for the Humanities for part of the \$12-\$15 million needed for the entire series. NEH funding typically requires the recipient to match the grant with independently-raised funds. That was the point at which PBS president Larry Grossman told WGBH that labor union funds were unacceptable as matching money for the project.

Unacceptable?

Yes, union sponsorship of a labor history series was a violation of PBS' underwriting principles, which say that program sponsors cannot have a specific, direct interest in the product or subject of the program.

WGBH and Rassbach then petitioned PBS to reconsider, and to allow a maximum of 25 percent of the necessary funds to come from unions. PBS endorsed the idea of the project. Grossman wrote WGBH head Henry Rector, "PBS does recognize the public interest in a series of this nature and strongly supports the *Made in U.S.A.* project, particularly in light of public TV's need for labor-related programming." But while reluctant to rule out formally the possibility of such funding within a larger package, PBS has refused to reconsider until a total funding package is ready.

Discrimination.

Rassbach supports the principle behind the underwriting rule. And the issue could be academic—right now the project is a long series of "ifs."

"The rules aren't necessarily bad ones," she said to *ITT*. "The key question is whether those rules are evenhandedly applied."

Nicholas Johnson, chair of the National Citizens' Communication Lobby and ex-commissioner of the FCC, put that key question more strongly.

"The devilish thing about this



"This program was not made possible..."

If PBS lets GM sponsor Milton Friedman, why can't unions sponsor a labor history series?

is that in some ways PBS is right. If they were set up to be non-commercial, if they had not accepted corporate money, if they had applied strict conflict-of-interest standards from the beginning, then one could conceivably support them now. But they violate their standards when it applies to corporations.

"In Madison, the technology series *Fast Forward* is made possible by a grant from a local computer store. That's no conflict of interest. Safeway can underwrite *Julia Child*, but that's not a conflict of interest. Martin Marietta can underwrite *Wall St. Week in Review* and benefit from an increase in stock market prices.

"And most outrageous of all is that program *Free to Choose* by Milton Friedman. That's not viewed as conflict of interest!"

Free to Choose is the conservative series on economics hosted by one of the architects of Chile's austerity economy, and purveying the ideas of laissez-faire. Its ideology was part of the sales pitch to sponsors. Eventually General Motors, General Mills, W.R. Grace, PepsiCo, Readers Digest and 11 other sources put up \$2.4 million for the program.

Labor unions too protest PBS' prohibition because it is discriminatory. Tom Thompson of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers told *ITT*, "Corporate funds are accepted with the idea that there's no ideological problem in doing so, but labor contributors are by definition tainted. I don't understand why corporate funding is not considered to include potential bias."

All Thompson wants is the right to play the same image

game that the corporations are doing, even though, he says, "the resources of labor unions don't begin to match those of large corporations."

"We've been trying to analyze why unions have such a tarnished image even among liberals. We're reassessing our image and thinking of how we can show the things we can do and have done."

"We're not looking for propaganda pieces. We just want the story to be told."

Walter Davis, education director of the AFL-CIO, also charged, "They've got a double standard, and it ought to be explored."

That double standard applies as well to tax benefits for donations. "When corporations put money into programming they get a tax write-off. We don't. There's an indirect federal subsidy for corporations, and that affects taxpayers, and that's us."

"We're not interested in TV or films as such, but in correcting the image of the role of labor in this society."

The unions have a general interest in seeing working people's history on TV, and *Made in U.S.A.* deals with the formation of a work force rather than focusing on specific unions. Historians on the advisory board were incensed by the PBS implication that unions would influence content; in a press statement they commented, "At no point in the [five year] development of the project has any union ever asked us to tailor the approach of a series to its political outlook."

More than demonstrating a "conflict of interest," the issue challenges the rule of thumb at

PBS that says corporate interest is general interest. Labor's demand for the right to donate raises again the issue that makes PBS officials squirm and PBS spokespeople babble—just who is the public, anyway, and what does it want? Does it really want a diet of wildlife documentaries, cooking shows and 19th century dramas? And who decides what "it" wants?

Mirrors and skyhooks.

PSB's arguments against labor union funding ultimately expose the trick mirrors and skyhooks used to pretend that corporate interest is not a special interest.

Elizabeth Shriver, general counsel for PBS, told in *THESE TIMES*, "We can't possibly accept money that is in such direct relation to the content. The best, in terms of the public's perception of the integrity of the program, would be if they didn't have any funding from labor unions."

Unfortunately for the legal mind, labor history is a subject on which anyone with money will have a strong opinion, because of the essential role of labor in getting that money. Asked about PBS' suggestion, Rassbach asked in return what the integrity of the program would look like if a series on working people's history were funded by major corporations. Or better, what the integrity would be of a program on big business funded by labor unions.

But for PBS, business is not always business—sometimes it's a sponsor. Corporate money does not stink. Several PBS spokespeople pointed to the commendable "variety" among their *Free to Choose* funders,

nearly all huge corporations or corporate foundations. No one wanted to entertain the idea of 16 different labor unions supplying funds for *Made in U.S.A.*

PBS' associate director of underwriting, Peggy Hubble, who worked for two years on underwriting guidelines, justified the anti-union decision this way:

"Business is much broader than labor. Corporations put their profits into a wide variety of things. Labor unions are only going to put money into something in which they have a vested interest."

So the labor unions are looking for PK, while the corporations are merely investing in good will. Labor unions can only invest in something that interests labor union members. But corporations can invest in anything that doesn't violate the interest of stockholders, especially if it's conveniently close to the leisure interests of a stockholding class.

Hubble explained further about the difference between general and specific interest, in terms of *Free to Choose*. "Free to Choose is about 'free enterprise and against government interference. General Motors has a general interest in that kind of thing, but if that program had the auto industry as a subject it would not be appropriate." Since *Made in U.S.A.*'s subject matter is workers' history, and not even specifically union history, the same argument should be applicable to it.

Hubble pointed out some "judgement calls" made on the sticky issue of specific interest. A gas company was rejected as a sponsor for Julia Child's program because she cooks with gas. A large bank was an unacceptable funder for a series on small business, one part of which was concerned with loans. Eastman Kodak could not fund a series on the history of photography.

The underwriting department stays focused carefully on things, when they think of corporations. Gas. Cars. Loans. The focus is equally concrete when it comes to programming: Food. Bookkeeping. Photographs. The fiction is elegant—GM makes cars, not money. Programs don't present perspective, just facts.

To the underwriters, workers' history, in all its complexity, must be the object that unions retail. It's the private concern of labor unions, the special interest of a special interest.

Policy.

PBS decision makers have to work hard to suggest they are being responsible to the public by taking this position. Consider Larry Grossman's fears: "We get nervous when the first money in is money from labor unions. People will look at the long list of unions in the underwriters' credits and accuse us of selling out."

Selling out? This from the "public" network that gives us Milton Friedman on economics courtesy of Lilly, Olin, Firestone and many more; *American Enterprise*, backed up by Merrill Lynch; conservative political commentary by Benn Wattenberg brought to us by LTV, Dow, Conoco and others?

BACK TALK

Let's not boycott the spirit of peace



Above, Phil Mahre (USA), competing in downhill skiing; right, USA's Eric Heiden on his way to the second of five gold medals for speed skating.

By Lester Rodney

Clayton Riley makes some good points about the Olympics (ITT, Feb. 13) but winds up with the proposition: Yes, let's boycott the Moscow Olympics... In fact, let's end the whole charade.

We're all entitled to our views, but I am highly unimpressed by the argument that the Olympics aren't what they ought to be, so to hell with them. What in the world is what it ought to be? The Olympics, like the United Nations, inevitably reflect things as they are. (Would we be better off in this thermonuclear age without the imperfect UN?) But the Olympic Games have something specially precious and important for our times.

The pretty TV pictures from Lake Placid took this observer back 24 years to Cortina d'Ampezzo in the Italian Alps.

Atop the practice ski jump lift Art Devlin, America's best jumper, and several of his teammates wrestled with Russian jumpers. The Americans and Russians were playfully pretending to push each other first down the icy takeoff incline.

It was the Soviet Union's debut in the Winter Olympics. Devlin was asked if athletes meeting like this might be of some little help in international understanding.

"That's an understatement," he said. "Sports and the Olympics do more good than anything else. I'll include the UN."

Let me be journalistically scrupulous and also recall my surprised dismay at the unlovely way Russian officials in Cortina tried to seal off their athletes. This denied us browsing and chatting rights at their habitat, but didn't keep the Soviet young men and women from being

pretty much like all the others at the games.

The last competitive event at Cortina took place on a Sunday morning. It was a bitter cold day. Writers guessed the stadium would be half empty for the 5:30 p.m. closing ceremonies, with no events left and admission still being charged. The place was jammed. As darkness closed on the white peaks just beyond the stand, the solemn Olympic hymn sounded, the flame was extinguished, fireworks went up, and the athletes broke ranks and mingled. Many embraced. Nobody there doubted that the emotional cheer for this sight less than 11 years after the guns fell silent in Europe had a meaning beyond sports.

But that was clear enough right from the opening day's parade of athletes through the streets to the stadium. Unable to contain themselves, many of

the Italians lining the route burst into tears as they applauded the young people of other countries marching without guns. Peace was uppermost in European minds in a way hard for us Americans to comprehend. Some windows and balconies displayed intertwined American and Soviet flags. No banners were necessary.

Well, that was war-traumatized Italy closer to World War II memories. But there remains something peculiarly moving in the closing Olympic scenes.

So, if the Kremlin can stand an unlikely ally—one who thinks they should get the hell out of Afghanistan (and Czechoslovakia)—here is a vote against boycotting the Moscow Olympics. Should we be the ones to self-righteously walk away from an event that, with all its problems, has the precious ability to stir one of the finest emotions of

mankind—the yearning for peace and brotherhood? These are not Russia's games. They are international games, held this time in Russia.

Yes, I am for the embattled slogan: Keep politics out of sports. Oh, I know the arguments: Politics are already in the Olympics...look at the China-Taiwan fuss, the African pullout over New Zealand, the killing of the Israelis...

Throwing in the Munich tragedy baffles me. It is something like saying that the aim of keeping crime off your street is cockeyed because some criminals were successful there. Israel continues to compete in the Olympics. As for the top-level squabbles, the fact is that with the one exception of Hungary's water poloists tangling with the Russians in a Melbourne pool shortly after the Russians went into Budapest, these things are simply not reflected on the playing fields. There is a magic about athletes competing and getting to know each other as fellow humans, not abstractions.

It is also argued by Washington proponents of a boycott that the Olympics will be used by the Russians to showcase their country and system. Does anyone suppose that Mexico, Italy, Japan, Finland and Canada, when they hosted the summer Olympics, didn't aim to showcase their country and way of life?

Which leaves the argument that we ought to pull out after the invasion of Afghanistan because we should have pulled out of the Berlin Olympics in 1936. For someone who believes there is no difference between Hitler's Germany and today's Soviet Union, this is a formidable argument. If, however, you think the Soviets run an odious police state, have set the word socialism back a long way, and have no scruples about brutally dominating any country within their reach where they think their interests are involved, but that unlike Nazi Germany they are not a self-proclaimed master race with a blueprint for physically conquering the world and slaughtering "inferior" people, you should think hard about an Olympic boycott.

The Olympics are a unique psychological event. Far more than cutting off our grain export, pulling out of the Olympics works to activate John Foster Dulles' apocalyptic, pseudo-biblical world lineup of angels vs. devils. Do we really want to put the glitter back in Ed Teller's eyes?

Lester Rodney is the former sports editor for *The Daily Worker*.

The Olympics are worth it—there's a magic about athletes competing and getting to know each other as human beings.

Unions

Continued from page 13.

There is another way to look at the question of "selling out." A letter sent to PBS by the present and immediate past heads of the American Historical Association and the Organization of American Historians said, "The effect of the PBS ruling is to allow corporations to determine which of the major federally-funded public TV projects can move forward."

"It would be tragic if a TV series portraying a central yet much neglected aspect of American history should fail to be produced because of the misguided ruling of PBS. No aspect of the past should be hidden from public scrutiny, including the history of workers."

Well, Grossman is good at seeing fierce enemies directly to his left. This isn't the only issue on which he has expressed his allegiances. In January he manfully took the stand that PBS would not be bullied into playing "special interest politics."

Pressure on PBS to provide programming and job opportunities to blacks, Hispanics and women; to allocate a proportion of programming funds for independent producers; and to provide special programming for children raised Grossman's ire. To allocate a quota of resources to particular social groups or issues, Grossman said, would compromise PBS.

"Quotas, by definition," he said, "undermine our capacity to pick programs of excellence that will serve the needs and interests of American TV viewers regardless of age, race, religion, ethnic origins or geographic location."

He concluded his speech, "If that be elitism, let's make the most of it."

Made in U.S.A. continues to be under consideration at PBS, a project that everyone would like—a kind of *Roots* of the saga of working people's history in the U.S.—but that keeps running up against the standard operating procedure of a corporate-fed "public" network.

There is a way out of the swamp of underwriting rulings—total public funding of a public network. Nicholas Johnson said, "Public broadcasting was going to be the alternative, so that we would have something that was not dominated by corporations. Now, ironically, you can get more controversial material on commercial networks than you can on the noncommercial. It's ludicrous."

But instructive.

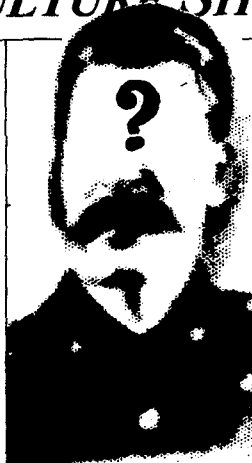
CULTURE SHOCK

KARL WHO?

A recent poll by a Hungarian government youth agency showed that 17 percent of young Hungarians knew nothing about Lenin, 31 percent could not identify Stalin and 42 percent did not know who Khrushchev was.

GEORGE WHO?

Meanwhile a Gallup poll in the U.S. has discovered "tremendous political illiteracy,"



says Zodiac News. Only 30 percent of the interviewed teenagers knew the names of the three presidents who served immediately before Carter, and less than 30 percent

knew that political conventions make the final choice of who the presidential nominees will be.

THE NEWEST VACATION SPOT

Tourism from the U.S. to South Africa has been expanding in recent years at the rate of 10 percent annually, reported *Advertising Age*. The South African government now is launching a massive advertising blitz to increase the number of U.S. tourists.

Crystal Lee

Continued from page 16.

In the '50s and again in the '60s, J.P. Stevens, through mass firings, harassment and intimidation, defeated workers' attempts to form a union in Roanoke Rapids. On Aug. 28, 1974, after a year of intensive organizing, a majority of the 3,400 J.P. Stevens workers in Roanoke Rapids voted for union representation. This was the first election victory for the union in the history of the J.P. Stevens empire.

However, through refusing to negotiate, deliberate delays and defiance of court orders, J.P. Stevens, after six years, has avoided signing a contract with the unionized workers in the seven Roanoke Rapids plants. Nor do the 35,000 workers at any of the other 76 J.P. Stevens plants have a contract. Unlike the movie *Norma Rae*, the real life story of Crystal Lee and the J.P. Stevens workers has yet to fade out on a happy ending.

Nevertheless, says Bill Patterson, an organizer of the J.P. Stevens boycott effort, the company is on the defensive. "J.P. Stevens' earnings are down. In 1976 a Stevens share sold on the stock market for \$19. Now a share goes for \$13 or \$14. The boycott has been effective. J.P. Stevens can only postpone, not prevent, the day it has to recognize the workers."

And Crystal Lee has been changed by the struggle. For a long time after her firing,

Crystal Lee lived in a constant mood of depression. She was blacklisted from the work she knew and when she could find other work, such as a hotel maid, she lived in fear of the management finding out about her union activities and firing her—which occurred many times.

"It wouldn't have been so bad if it was just me," she says, "but I had three beautiful children I had to feed and send to school." She had divorced her husband and was on her own.

Now, however, Crystal Lee is happier, more content. Although she says that life is still very quiet for her in her Burlington home, she has been the subject of magazine and newspaper articles, a book, TV programs, a Hollywood movie, and a movie-in-progress by Barbara Kopple, director of *Harlan County, USA*.

In addition, those near her see her as more self-confident and knowledgeable.

On the road.

Beginning last December at the national convention of the New Democratic Party in Ontario, Canada, Crystal Lee has been on the road for the J.P. Stevens boycott effort. Like Eli Zivkovich, Crystal Lee has become an organizer for the union.

"I don't think I've changed, but my oldest son—he's expecting a baby in March—he said to me, he said, 'Momma,' he said,

'you've changed since you've started going on these tours.'

"I said, 'what do you mean, Son?' And he said, 'Well, I just don't know how do you know what to say to those people.'

"I said, 'Well, Son,' I said, 'I guess Jesus just helps me, because I pray about it a lot. I pray that he'll give me the knowledge to know what to say when I do stand up in front of a crowd of people.'

"When I was in high school I never did care about learning anything, about memorizing stuff. So, the only way I could be intelligent enough to do this job is by Jesus Christ giving me the knowledge. I don't know where else I could get it from because I'm not the kind of person who can sit down and read something and learn. I'm real good with my hands and you can show me how to do something and I can do it, but to make me sit down and read something and then tell me to do it—no way!"

And Eli Zivkovich continues to exert his influence upon her.

"I admire Eli very much," she says. "At the time, he was the most intelligent person I'd ever had the privilege of knowing. Of course, I've met intelligent people since then, but he was the first."

Eli gave her *The Organizer's Law Book* and *The Autobiography of Mother Jones*, as well as books on John L. Lewis and the coal miners.

"He taught me how to organize: never argue, show respect, and fear nobody but the Lord Jesus Christ. You don't win people over by fighting with them. You win them by listening and giving them time. Eventually, they come around to seeing it your way."

"Eli pushed me. I told him sometimes, I said, 'Hey, you're doing me worse than J.P. Stevens did.' Like, he wanted me to organize some cheerleaders to be union cheerleaders at our union meetings. He said, 'If you in-

volve the children, then you involve more parents.' And he was right."

"So, here he had me making cheerleader skirts. I had as many as 45 cheerleaders from ages two through 17. I had to make size one cheerleader outfits up to size 18."

"And then he still wanted me to go out with him to get people to sign union cards!"

"I said, 'Eli,' I said, 'I got my husband to take care of, I got my children to take care of, I got to put three meals on the table every day.' I said, 'Hell, man, I'm not but one woman!'"

"He said, 'You can do it.'"

"I did it."

Divorce.

But her marriage was broken by the strain.

"My husband, Mr. Jordan, gave me a hard time. That was what finally led to the divorce. Here he was a union person under a union contract with decent wages and he didn't even want me to go to my first union meeting. He said his wife shouldn't get involved. He said, 'I know how you are,' he said. 'You're gonna get fired.'"

"And he was right, I did get fired."

"But any woman in the labor movement is going to have problems with her husband if she's married. Organizing takes a lot of your time. It was just like the movie *Norma Rae*, that scene where she was making the phone calls at night with the dishes piled up in the sink. Well, it actually happened like that. I was always up late at night making phone calls and he didn't think I had the time."

"Well, really, I didn't have the time for him that I did before. But, it had to be done. A woman has to have an understanding husband or your marriage is shot."

"A man can get away with it because most of the time he doesn't have to do the cooking, he doesn't have to take care of

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the children, that's the woman's job. She has to work, then she has to go home and go to work again."

"He finally did start helping out. He learned how to cook, he learned how to work the washing machine, he learned how to run a vacuum cleaner...and it was nothing but good for him because he learned how to survive. I admire any man that doesn't mind doing chores around the house, helping the woman out."

"But, it just didn't work. I lost my respect for him. The final straw was that his people at his plant weren't coming out to support us, to hand out leaflets and I thought they should. I asked him to come with me down there during the change of shifts to try to get the men to come out and be active."

"He told me he would not and I had better not. It lasted two more years, but that was just holding on..."

"Putting it bluntly, he just simply wasn't man enough to handle it. A lot of men can't handle it. It's their pride. They're afraid people are going to talk about them."

"But, if she's not worried about talk, he shouldn't worry about it. The woman always supports the man. If it had been him, I would have supported him. But, he just couldn't handle it."

Crystal Lee Sutton, however, does appear to be handling it. Although her present tour, scheduled to last until April or May, is draining and exhausting, she is doing what she knows how to do and the only thing she wants to do.

"Remember," she says, "I'm blacklisted. Unless the union gives me an organizer's job, I'll never work again."

"In the meantime, I'm just taking it one day at a time. Just one day at a time..."

Eric Davlin is the editor of *Civil Liberties Record*, the newspaper of the American Civil Liberties Union of Pennsylvania.

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PUBLICATIONS

MULTINATIONAL MONITOR, a monthly magazine sponsored by Ralph Nader, commenced publication in February. The Monitor seeks to explore the role of multinational corporations overseas, and to promote a critical discussion of the impact of international firms in developing countries. Among the feature-length articles in the February issue were a report on Kaiser Aluminum's extraordinarily profitable relationship with the government of Ghana, a report on a growing controversy over corporate influence at the United Nations, and an in-depth interview with a leading Puerto Rican scientist on the impact of U.S. corporate activity on the island's economy and environment. Additionally, Ralph Nader wrote an introductory article and Richard Barnett contributed an article analyzing the impact of multinationals on Third World political and economic development. An annual subscription of 12 monthly issues costs \$15.00 for personal subscribers, \$20.00 for non-profit institutions, and \$30.00 for business institutions. To subscribe, or to request a free sample issue, write: Multinational Monitor, P.O. Box 19367, Washington, D.C. 20036.

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BY ERIC LEIF DAVIN

Crystal Lee

The Movie *Norma Rae* is a winner. Just going into its second national distribution, *Norma Rae* won the Golden Globe Award for Drama and Sally Field, in the title role, won the Golden Globe Award for Best Actress. On Feb. 11, Sally Field also took Best Actress honors in the American Movie Awards, a competition presented by the National Association of Theater Owners in which movie goers themselves cast ballots over a five-day period last January in theater lobbies across the country. In addition, *Norma Rae* will be among the top contenders for the various Academy Awards.

But Crystal Lee Sutton—the “real” *Norma Rae*—doesn’t like it.

“It was made against my wishes,” she says. “I wanted it to be a good educational movie, not a soap opera. I liked the parts about Norma Rae talking to her children, about the police dragging her off to jail, and the election. But, I really don’t see much point to the rest of the movie. I especially don’t like the part about Norma Rae and the organizer swimming naked in the pool.”

“Besides, if someone was going to spend that much money making a movie about me, I wanted it to be about more than two people, because it took more than two people to win a campaign involving over 3,000 workers.”

“Still,” she continues, “I’m happy it’s helping the cause. It’s said to be the best pro-union movie to come out of Hollywood. It could have been worse.”

Crystal Lee Sutton began working in the textile mills of North Carolina in 1959 at age 17 as a battery filler, feeding shuttles of cotton yarn into looms from four till midnight. Crystal Lee’s entire family worked in the mills—her father, her mother, brother, sister and later her two husbands.

When Crystal Lee’s father first got her a job in the textile mill in Hall River, North Carolina, he warned her against joining a union. “He told me, he said, ‘Now, honey,’ he said, ‘I’m gonna help you get this job,’ he said. ‘But they got a union there and don’t you have nothing to do with it, because if you do, you’ll get fired.’”

“You know, I always believed and respected the things my daddy said and so I listened to him. Then, when I was working there, the shop stewards would leave off their work time to attend a union meeting and I would think, back then in ’59, well, my God! There’s nothing wrong with a union! These people are having a good time!”

Crystal Lee’s father died in 1969 from brown lung disease, caused by breathing too much cotton dust. Her aunt, after 49 years in the mills, is also dying of brown lung on her \$27-a-month retirement pension.

Organizer.

Crystal Lee never heard of brown lung until Mother’s Day, 1973, when she attended her first union meeting and heard Eli Zivkovich, a Serbian ex-coal miner from West Virginia, describe it. Eli, the model for the union organizer Reuben in *Norma Rae*, had come to organize the J.P. Stevens Roanoke Rapids fabricating plant and found Crystal Lee ready to help.

“My parents worked in the plants all their lives,” she says. “My daddy had no health insurance and when he died, the family only got \$3,000 in benefits. My husband, Mr. Jordan, made double what my daddy made and my daddy had to work a whole lot harder. Mr. Jordan had three weeks paid vacation and a \$24,000 Blue Cross-Blue Shield insurance policy. When he had a problem, a shop steward would go and talk to management. He had somebody on his side, where if you don’t have a union in textiles, you’re in there to face all those bossmen by yourself. I just felt that if he can have it because of his union, then textile workers can have it too.”

“So, one day I heard a union campaign was going on and I said, Yes, I want some of it, too.”

That first union meeting was held in a black church and Eli at first thought Crystal Lee was a J.P. Stevens spy.

“There were only five or six whites in the audience and I sat down front so I could hear everything. I wrote down everything he said, and that made him suspicious.”

Crystal Lee immediately became active in the organizing campaign. However, less than a month later, on May 30, 1973, after copying an anti-union notice on a company bulletin board, Crystal Lee was fired on the spot.

“I was really angry, so I took a Magic Marker and wrote the word UNION on a piece of cardboard, climbed on a table in the finishing department and held it up,” despite fear of company retaliation, the workers, one by one, raised their hands in the V for victory sign.

The Police Chief arrived and Crystal Lee was dragged out of the plant and into jail on a disorderly conduct charge. The National Labor Relations Board later ruled her firing illegal, but J.P. Stevens fought the ruling in court for five years.



In 1977 a federal court ordered her reinstated and reimbursed for back pay. The amount came to \$13,000 after taxes, which Crystal Lee used to pay bills and attorneys and to make a down payment on her house in Burlington, N.C.

In 1978, Crystal Lee regained her job in the Stevens Roanoke Rapids plant and worked for two days, “just to show the workers it was against the law for J.P. Stevens to harass people. Then, because I was sick with high blood pressure, I took the longest sick leave I could manage, three months. But, there was really no way I could stay at the job. I had to travel 126 miles from Burlington for only \$3.33 an hour.”

But, says Crystal Lee, it changed nothing at J.P. Stevens. “They made a lot of money during those five years. Fines don’t bother them. You’ll have to send ‘em to jail before they’ll really change.”

Continued on page 15.

Unlike the movie *Norma Rae*, the real life story of Crystal Lee and the J.P. Stevens workers has yet to fade out on a happy ending.



Pat Goudis